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VIRGINIA IN THE SENATE.

[We continue, in order of date, from the *Daily Globe*, the report of the exciting discussion in the United States Senate over the admission of Virginia into the Union].

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

Mr. Sumner.—Mr. President, at last we have had a defense of Gov. Walker on this floor. For days this debate went on, and no word explaining his singular position was vouchsafed even by the Senator from Nevada. At last we have it. We now know all that can be said in behalf of this gentleman; and, sir, how little? The Senator from Nevada in the defense that he has made recognizes the pivotal character of Gov. Walker in this issue. He sees clearly that if Gov. Walker be the man that he has appeared to be in what has been read on this floor it vitiates this whole proceeding; the State of Virginia cannot be trusted in such hands; the Congress of the United States will become partakers in the crime if they permit this great trust to such a man. What was the defense made by the Senator? You heard it, sir, did you not? Did it amount to anything? I wish to speak of it with respect; I mean to be parliamentary; I certainly would not be uncourteous; but permit me to say, it amounted to nothing. It was hard, sir, to listen to it. It was hard that a Senator on this floor should be obliged to bring forward such a defense. It was hard that a Senator should make it.

Now, in order to consider this defense it becomes important in the first place to make ourselves acquainted with article seven, entitled "County organizations," which has been treated with so much levity and which this Governor promises, if the good people will choose him, shall be nullified. The Senator from Nevada read only the introductory section; he was unwilling to read to the end, or he did not read to the end. Had he read to the end the importance of this article would have been disclosed. The first section provides for the appointment of an attorney for the Commonwealth, who shall be also Commonwealth's attorney for the circuit court, the object of which, I take it, is to secure a prosecuting officer, to the end that justice may be administered. There is also provision for a county treasurer, also a provision for a superintendent of the poor, and then a provision for a superintendent of schools, all of very little significance; a county attorney, a superintendent of the poor, and a superintendent of schools! Full well we know, sir, that in the old days of slavery such a provision was of very little consequence. I presume it did not exist in any slave State. It is an importation from New England. It belongs to the pride and the glory of that part of the country that it has given to this Republic its system of common schools; and now by this constitution an effort is made to plant that generous, beneficent system in Virginia. The article proceeds, by section three, to provide as follows: "Each township shall be divided into so many compactly located school districts as may be deemed necessary." "School districts." All that came from New England. It began with the Pilgrims, at the very beginning of their history in this country, and here is the effort to introduce it into Virginia.

How is that encountered by this Governor? I hold in my hand no common, ordinary report of the speech of Gov. Walker, but one published, as the Senate will see, like a handbill or a broadside for circulation for party distribution, which, as I peruse it from beginning to end, seems to me most carefully reported, I should say *verbatim;* I cannot doubt *verbatim.* Read it, sir, if you will, with your experience as a public speaker and knowing the difficulties that reporters have to encounter in taking down the precise words, and I believe you will be convinced that here the reporters must have reasonably if not entirely succeeded. The speech in this broadside which I hold in my hands is entitled "Speech of Col. Gilbert C. Walker at Liberty, Bedford County, Virginia, May 20, 1869." I will not read its beginning, nor the first topics that it treats of, but I come down to a latter part, and read as follows:

"Then my conviction is that the balance of the constitution, bad as it is"—

That is the way he speak of this constitution—

"ought to be adopted. This for several reasons. It is more important than ever, under the circumstances upon us, that you should control the State government. If the constitution expurgated shall be adopted, and you have elected your State ticket and your Legislature, you may proceed at once to propose such amendments to the constitution as will clear it of all its dangerous characteristics. The county organization need never be enforced. If I am elected with a Legislature not Radical it never will be put in operation."

And I am reminded that on this occasion he was addressing the white ex-rebels, seeking to enlist them in his support. Thus, sir, does he hand over this promised system of public schools to destruction; he dooms it in advance. On that ground he asks the votes of the white ex-rebels. We "will clear it" says he "of all its dangerous characteristics." Ay, sir, knowledge is dangerous to tyranny; knowledge is dangerous to slavery, knowledge is dangerous to wrong and injustice. Well might the representative of this recent political triumph in Virginia be afraid to see a system of public schools established in Virginia.

But this is not all, sir. What a man says in one part of a speech is interpreted by what he says in another. Now listen again:

"You people of Bedford"—

Says the Governor—

"have, perhaps, not suffered as much as we of eastern Virginia from that foul refuse which the North has, as it were, vomited over our country to distract and devour it. Yet you have known some of the evils resulting from the presence of these harpies. They will continue to harass and injure us until the State government is restored, and it is your duty and policy to rally as one man to do what is in your power to seize hold of the State government in every department."

"To seize hold," says he, "of the State government in every department."

"Then the curse of these fatteners upon your substance will be removed, and not till then."

Thus does he speak of those generous men who have gone down from the North to establish themselves in Virginia; they are "harpies."

Mr. Pomeroy.—Will the Senator allow me to ask, was he not a carpet-bagger himself?

Mr. Howard.—Yes, he is. I can answer.

Mr. Sumner.—They are "harpies" according to him; they are "fatteners upon the substance," and this gentleman is the appointed man to drive them away. He is to hold the besom in his hand which is to sweep Virginia clear of all men from the North and of all public chools. Let it go over the country that this person chosen Governor by Virginia pledges himself in advance to break down the proposed system of public schools. What greater atrocity at this moment can be proposed? How can you organize reconstruction except on the everlasting foundation of education? For that good men have longed; for that efforts have been made in this Chamber and out of it, and now, when we seemed about to triumph through the introduction of this clause into the constitution, we have a candidate for Governor soliciting votes on the ground that he will nullify it; and then, when brought before the committee of the other House, you have heard his lame, his impotent, his ignoble explanation. It was read by the Senator from Nevada, and every word that I have used about it aptly characterizes it. If he were worthy to be Governor, if he were shortly to sit in the seat which in other times has been honored by good and great and worthy men, never would he have made the speech, never would he have made the explanation.

I am reminded by my friend from Vermont [Mr. Edmunds] that the explanation is what he technically calls, and very properly, a *cognovit.* He will execute it in "no manner detrimental to the people." Ah, knowledge is detrimental to those interests of which he makes himself the representative! Therefore, according to his own testimony, would he go forth with his besom in his hand against the system of public schools.

And now, sir, would you know something more of the character of this candidate? I do not rely upon what other people say, but I rely upon his own words; he is the strongest witness against himself. I may add that the Senator from Nevada in his defense has completed the testimony against him. But here is another speech made at Alexandria, near here. It does not seem to be reported with the same completeness as the one from which I have already read, but as reports go, judging from my own slight experience, I should say it must be reasonably accurate. Here is what he says; now from this learn the man:

"He did not feel called upon to tell Virginians what to do under the circumstances, but he would with their permission tell them what he, after mature deliberation, had determined to do; for what was Virginia's interest was for his interest, as he was not like the man who carried 'all mine tings in mine bag,' and that was to vote down the two damnable clauses which were to be submitted separately."

And what then, Mr. President?

"Take a dose of physic by voting for the rest of it; for Virginia required a dose of physic to enable her to throw of the extraneous matter that now clings to her intestines."

That is, the people from the North, the carpet-baggers he calls them, and the public schools. That is what he wishes cleaned off. He then goes on.

"The great object now to be secured"—

Now, Mr. President, we are to know the great object proposed by this Governor; that which is to be like the guiding star in the future—

"The great object now to be secured was for Virginians"—

What do you think it is, sir? To establish the Declaration of Independence? To establish equal rights on adamant forevermore? To make this Republic great and glorious, and secure to all time? Oh, no, sir; no such thing as that; that did not enter into his mind apparently; but it was—

"for Virginians to obtain control of their own State, to get it out of the power of those who had ruled over it for the last four years; and voting for the emasculated constitution was the shortest and most direct route that led to that end."

That is the great object; that is the guiding star; that is the pillar of fire by night and the cloud by day for this great Governor of Virginia. "The document," he proceeds, for he would not call it a constitution—

"The document, too, he said, carried in itself the sword to lop off its own excrescences, for by it the Legislature elected under it has power to call a convention which can alter or amend it; and if a Conservative Legislature were elected by October next the State could have a constitution whose beneficent provisions would be as broad as were desired. And the first Legislature too, he said, by the constitution had the power to propose ameliorating amendments which if adopted by the succeeding Legislature and their action ratified by the people would have the force of fundamental law."

This is what this great Governor proposes; nor is this all, sir:

"He had not supposed that there were men in the State who in framing a constitution would go to a lower depth of infamy than was contained in the Fourteenth Amendment; but he had been mistaken, and he compared the State under the constitution to a patient afflicted with cancer."

There is a double characterization; first, of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which he characterizes as a depth of infamy, and second, of the constitution of Virginia which has recently been adopted, which he likens to a cancer. Sir, what hope can come from such a man? What hope can come from the party that he represents? He is not alone; he was chosen upon the basis of these speeches; through these speeches he gained votes, and his triumph represents the triumph of this detestable cause.

But, sir, this is not all. I have already read on one occasion, and now introduce it here as a part of the case, what he said at the fair after the result of the election. We have had to-day one speech that he made when the election news came in. Here is another:

"The people of your noble old Commonwealth have declared themselves against vandalism, fraud, and treachery"—

That is, against the Administration of the national Government and of Gen. Canby, and of the reconstruction acts, which are here denounced as vandalism, fraud, and treachery.

"Virginia had freed herself from the tyranny of a horde of greedy cormorants and unprincipled carpet-baggers who came to sap her very vitals."

That is the way he characterized the national Government in its beneficent influence there during the last four years, affording protection to all and gradually preparing the way for that State independence which, if his principles were to prevail, I have to say Virginia is yet entirely unworthy of.

Then again, sir, for he made many speeches, at Charlottesville, in Virginia, on the 26th of June, 1869, he spoke, and here his speech is reported by what the newspaper entitles "our own reporter," perfectly well known to you, Mr. President. Here is what the reporter says:

"His speech was about the same as those made at other places by him during the canvass. He gave his reasons for voting against the objectionable clauses in the constitution, and also stated why he should vote for the constitution. He addressed his remarks almost entirely to the white people, although there were very many colored present. He said he would not vote for himself for Governor, but for a better man, Gen. Robert E. Lee. He gave three reasons for voting for Lee: first, because Lee is the greatest soldier of the age; second, because he is one of the purest, best, and most noble men living, one of the greatest of all Virginia's great sons; third, because he and Gen. Lee stood upon the same platform, universal amnesty and suffrage"—

Mark the limitation there—"and suffrage;" no "universal," no "impartial," but "suffrage:"

"In place of so-called military government, which means carpet-bag destruction."

That is another speech. Is it not, I ask, in perfect harmony with the speech from which I first read? Are they not of a piece? Does not one harmonize with the other? Do they not all fit? A man is known also, we are told often, by the company he keeps. A candidate is known also by the orators who speak for him. I have here another paper, the *Richmond Dispatch*, where I find a report of the second day of the State Conservative Convention, and here is a speech by Mr. John R. Edmunds: I do not think he can be any relative of my valued friend before me. This Mr. Edmunds said:

"We wanted an administration around which the white element would be rallied."

A white man's government! That is the idea. Mr. Edmunds then goes on to say:

"He portrayed very forcibly the advantages to accrue in Virginia from the election of Walker. Her people would get the Legislature and the judiciary in their hands, and a state of affairs such as used to exist would once more come over the State."

"A state of affairs such as used to exist would once more come over the State." What was that condition of affairs? You know it well, when, under the influence of slavery, human rights were struck down and trampled under foot; when no man guilty of a skin not colored like our own could expect rights anywhere; when indeed, according to that audacious declaration once made in this Capitol, the black man had no rights which a white man was bound to respect. That is the state of things which this orator of Virginia, pleading for Gov. Walker, wishes to have back.

Nor is this all. This same orator appears in another newspaper, and, with your permission, sir, and asking your pardon for the time I take on this matter, I will read a very brief extract from what he then said;

"Colonel Baldwin was followed by Mr. Edmunds, who favored the election of Walker as affording the means"—

What means?

"the means by which they could bridge over the next four years. He was not acquainted with him, but from all he had heard he believed him to be a man of some character. If Walker were elected by Conservative, votes the Conservatives would control his policy and have the government of the State in their own hands; he could do no harm, and in four years from this time negro suffrage would be dead, and the white man's party would be strong enough to rule the State and elect Colonel Withers or any other good Virginian they might see proper to elevate to the position."

Such, sir, is the record of this candidate whose position, as I have already said, is pivotal in this inquiry. Your action pivots on the character and conduct of Gov. Walker. If he does not inspire your confidence; if, on the other hand, he has said, and done things which fill you with aversion, then how can you trust to the government of which he is the pivot? You cannot, sir.

For the present I confine myself to this simple statement that I have made. Gov. Walker speaks for himself; I have said little or nothing. It is Gov. Walker who has spoken. If the testimony is strong it comes from himself, and it is because out of his own mouth is he judged. Now, sir, is there any truth in the old saying "Forewarned, forearmed? Being thus forewarned, will you not also be forearmed? Will you not take those just precautions required by the reconstruction acts, required by principle and by every obligation of duty? Failing in this, I say it with all possible respect, you abandon your duty; nay more, sir, you abandon the innocent Unionists of Virginia, whether black or white, to the tender mercies of their enemies; you hand the lamb over to the care of the wolf. Will you do it? Dare you do it?

Mr. Sumner.—Mr. President, the Senator from Illinois is anxious that the Senate should take action on the pending bill. So are we all. So is my colleague who has made the motion to recommit this bill. So am I. We are all anxious for action; nor is the Senator from Illinois more anxious than the rest of us. I yield to him no monopoly in that respect. The anxiety of the Senator is for action the wrong way; it is for action to admit a State still smoking with rebellion. That is his anxiety. Sir, I am against him on that point. Give me action, but give me such action as will sustain the liberties of this Republic and will make all safe in their rights.

Something has been said about facts. I think a Senator asked on what fact we could ground a motion for reference now. Am I mistaken, sir? Did I not hear—perhaps from the Senator from Illinois, certainly from some member of the Judiciary Committee—that Unionists, loyal people from Virginia, knocked at the door of the Judiciary Committee in order to entreat a hearing on this question, to set forth the actual condition of things in Virginia, and they found it was locked; and not only that, but the bill already reported?

Mr. Trumbull.—For myself I stated distinctly that no such application had been made to my knowledge, and I understood that all the other members of the committee corroborated my statement.

Mr. Sumner.—Still it has been stated on this floor that loyalists went to the door of the Judiciary Committee and asked a hearing; they knocked and found it closed, and the bill was afterward reported. There is a fact.

Mr. Carpenter.—What is the fact?

Mr. Sumner.—What Senators have stated on the floor, that the door of the Judiciary Committee was locked when loyalists applied for a hearing. If it was not so, let the Senator correct me.

Mr. Carpenter.—The whole Judiciary Committee has corrected the Senator several times.

Mr. Sumner.—I have not heard the correction from one.

Mr. Carpenter.—As to knocking at the door when the committee were not in session we do not know anything about it. They may have knocked all night for aught I know.

Mr. Sumner.—I dare say the course of the committee was all night to the loyalists of Virginia. Their course would make it all night to the State of Virginia. But the question is of fact. I am asked for a fact. Now I give one fact. The election in Virginia was one huge colossal fraud. That is the fact. The evidences the Senate already has before it. The people were appealed to by the candidate for Governor to choose him, that through him they might nullify the proposed constitution and trample out the system of free schools in Virginia. That is the fraud. The election was carried on that appeal. I challenge any Senator who hears me to deny it. The evidence you have before you, sir. The election was carried on that appeal. The people came forward and voted for this Gov. Walker because they expected through him, according to his language, to control the State; and what next? Through him to nullify the proposed constitution, and then again through him to trample out the proposed system of free schools.

That is the secret of this recent election. That is the fact. Do Senators ask for a fact? I give it to them—a gigantic fact which bestrides the whole State. Nobody can deny it. Let any Senator rise in his seat and deny the fact. Let any member of the Judiciary Committee deny the fact. Let the Senator from Nevada who has pushed this bill to a consummation, as I have seen pro-slavery measures pushed in other days, deny the fact.

Mr. Stewart.—What fact?

Mr. Sumner.—Well, if the Senator does not listen he will wait until I get through. The Senator asks with simplicity "What fact?" The gigantic fraud by which the election was carried in Virginia on an appeal to the people to elect a certain candidate on his promise that in the event of his election, the constitution should be nullified and the common-school system trampled out. That is the fact; I challenge the Senator to meet it. Let him explain it away. He has no testimony that can meet it. There is no argument that can do it away. There it is, gigantic, collossal, towering over the whole State, making itself manifest in this Capitol—a terrible fact! Senators ask for a fact; I give it to them. In the face of that fact it is proposed to hurry this bill, without any inquiry, so as to complete the sacrifice.

Sir, I am in earnest in this matter. I wish to save that great and beautiful State from the wicked schemes of rebels. I wish to throw such influence as I may have in behalf of the Unionists there, whether white or black. I wish to throw over them the protecting ægis of the nation. Will you not help in that work? Will you hurry on this sacrifice?

Senators ask for a fact. I have given you one. Just as I was rising to speak I received a letter, from which I will read a passage:

"During all the campaign in Virginia last summer I never heard of a single Conservative speaker saying anything in favor of the suffrage or free-school or county organization or taxation clauses of the new constitution. So far from that, it was the sentiment universally expressed by the Conservatives that these clauses were obnoxious and ought never to be enforced. On the first Monday of June, 1869, Hon. B. H. Shackelford, of Warrenton, made his speech in the court-house at Brentsville, to the following effect; after a tirade of the most bitter invectives against Northern settlers and the Union soldiers, he came to the question whether Virginians should vote for the constitution. He urged them to do so in order"—

Be good enough to mark this if you please, sir—

"In order that they might get the power into their own hands."

You will see how the whole tribe took the watchword and countersign from their candidate for Governor—

"that they might get the power into their own hands. He said the constitution was a nullity, as it would be adopted under coercion, and that the Conservative party was pledged not to enforce its obnoxious provisions. And then followed the following language, which I think I quote verbatim, as I made a note of it at the time: 'Why,' said he, 'what does the Radical Congress care about constitutions? Have they not been trampling the United States Constitution under foot ever since they had the power, and won't we do the same thing with this constitution when we get into power at Richmond? Of course we will.'

"Mr. Shackelford was the nominee of the Conservatives of the seventh congressional district for Congress, but being under disabilities finally withdrew in favor of Hon. Lewis McKenzie. Mr. Shackelford is without doubt, the ablest man of the Conservative party in Northern Virginia and a representative of Conservative sentiment. I should add that the above sentiment was applauded by a crowded house, and more than any sentiment advanced in three speeches made that day."

There is a fact; Senators ask for it. Now, I give what I will call a petition or a prayer from another Virginian, one who has received trust from his State:

"A majority of the counties in Virginia have loyal majorities, and nothing but intimidation prevented us from having a loyal majority in the present Legislature. If the loyal people of Virginia can be heard, through sworn testimony taken by a congressional committee, such a tale of horror, intimidation, and fraud will be related as will cause the loyal millions of the North to stand aghast."

Now, sir, here is another fact: it may not interest Senators who are with whip and spur driving up this sacrifice; but if there are any within the sound of my voice who have not yet entirely forgotten their obligations to the freedmen, I know it must interest them; this is from one of their faithful guardians:

"I write by urgent request"—

Says my correspondent—

"to tell you the story of a few teachers of freedmen who have settled in an obscure region at the mouth of the Potomac, and to ask you if after the admission of Virginia there would be any protection for us in our work other than that the State would give. Some have bought land to be divided for homes for freed people, caused schools to be built and teachers' homes. The colored people living in the windowless and floorless huts of the slave time could not give teachers homes under their roofs. Other homes were sealed against them on account of their vocation.

"I should say that the poor people, white and colored, just emerging from bondage who ask the news hear with eager delight that their peril is postponed."

They see that the Senate has not yet acted on this bill, that the sacrifice is not yet consummated; and it is with eager delight that they find their peril postponed. The letter then proceeds:

"The few brave spirits in this community who have quietly stood by justice have encountered every indignity, even to personal violence, during their residence here. These wait on the decision of Congress with a knowledge that it holds their fate in its hands. We all know that 'universal amnesty and universal suffrage' granted to Virginia will make us martyrs or put us to flight. Our convictions are caused by the action of this community last summer at the time of the election, when the disloyal felt themselves triumphant."

Then is given a sketch of some of the procedings at the election, which I omit, and the letter proceeds:

"The Southrons are good at threatening and equally good at carrying out their threats. Therefore we hope our friends in Congress who have our fate in their hands will never give us over bound hand and foot to our own and our country's enemies."

Here is another letter, just received from Richmond, in which the writer sets forth, "the great difficulties we are laboring under to properly impress Congress with the truth as to the political and social condition of this people. Permit me to suggest that a joint committee of both Houses be chosen who shall have power to send for persons and papers and to take evidence under oath. If this should be done a state of feeling and of facts would be developed that would astonish the most sanguine believer in the loyalty of Virginia. Sir, I have seen and heard almost daily words and actions, since the present question of admitting Virginia has been before your honorable bodies, that would condemn three-fourths of the Conservatives to the criminal cells if justice were done."

Mr. Stewart.—Who is the writer of that?

Mr. Sumner.—It is a gentleman from Richmond. The Senator asks for his name. In old pro-slavery days, when it was my duty to expose the atrocities of slavery, the representatives of slavery very often said, "Give us the name." Of course the giving the name sealed the fate of the writer of the letter. I did no such thing then, and I cannot do it now unless the Senator and those who unite with him in pressing this bill to its fatal consummation will promise in all respects to protect this faithful citizen and his associates. Let him do that, and then the names will all be forthcoming.

Here is another, sir; the place from which this comes is Lynchburg:

"The sentiment of the people is growing more bitter. As an example, a preacher in this city, the pastor of one of the largest and strongest churches here, in last Sabbath morning's service from his pulpit most bitterly denounced the Congress of the United States as a pack of infamous villains, and kept on in a strain like that, reminding one of the old rebellion times. My life was threatened on my return in the cars by a squad of men, who took me to task for what I said at Washington, and I was compelled to appeal to the conductor of the train for protection. The sentiment of the people is growing so bitter since there is a prospect of their getting control of the State"—

That is the point—

"that many of the colored people are leaving the State to escape what they believe is certainly their doom if the State be admitted under the control of the Conservative party."

You ask for a fact. There it is. Here is another, from Charlottesville:

"We would respectfully represent"—

Says this writer who represents many others besides himself—

"that the bill"—

I think he refers to one which I had the honor of introducing, proposing the test-oath to the Legislature, with regard to the legality of which I have no doubt—

"We would respectfully represent that the bill is heartily indorsed and approved by all the good people in this portion of the State; and if it should not become a law all the rights of the loyal citizens in this Commonwealth will be trampled under foot and swept away by rebel rule. It is true, as they have said, they will punish us in a thousand ways, and no law can reach them for their punishment."

Then, again, here is other testimony from Culpepper Court-House:

"I see by the papers that in a speech before the United States Senate you think the loyal portion of Virginia should be heard on the state of the election held in this State July 6, 1869."

I did think so; I think so still.

"I, as well as the Republicans of this county, agree with you, and I have spoken to some of those who I am perfectly sure will give a true statement of affairs during the election."

And then he mentions the names of certain persons whom it would be proper to summon as witnesses.

Here is another, bearing date the same day, from a place that was once the track of battle. Spottsylvania Court-House. The writer says:

"I am satisfied if you knew the true situation of affairs here in Virginia you would excuse me for thus introducing myself and addressing you. I am a plain farmer, making farming and not politics my study. I came to Virginia ten years since. During that time I have been able to keep my eyes and ears open, but much of the time have been forced to keep my mouth shut. I claim to have studied the character and disposition of the people of Virginia as carefully and as thoroughly as I could with the opportunity I have had, and I think few have had better, and I do not hesitate to say that if Virginia is to be admitted without the application of the test-oath to those who are or may be elected to offices in the State, both State officers and members of Congress, it will be the death-blow to the peace and prosperity of the loyal people of the State. If Congress could realize for a moment what the loyal people have suffered for the last eleven years, and what they are still suffering from this same party who are now and have so long been strenuously urging upon Congress the practicability and even justice of abolishing the test-oath and the incalculable injury and injustice they are sure to encounter and suffer at their hands for an indefinite period to come, I am satisfied they would not hesitate for a moment to insist upon the test-oath as one of the conditions of her admission."

Senators ask for a fact. I give them facts in numbers. But, behind all, I give again the great domineering fact that the election was carried by an immense, gigantic, immoral fraud. It was carried by an appeal to the rebel people throughout the State that they should take the control of the State and in that way nullify the constitution and trample out the system of common schools. That is the great fact which dominates over this question. Until that fact is answered it is impossible for the Senate to proceed with the consideration of this bill. How can that fact be answered? Only by inquiry. Have you not been put on inquiry? You listened yesterday to the record of the Governor recently chosen. It was his testimony against himself. Nothing by anybody else; only what he said himself. Out of his own mouth was he condemned. You know the appeals which he made as he traversed the State. You know the final result of those appeals. Now, I insist, the fact stands conspicuous before you and unanswerable that that election was carried by an appeal which was in itself the very worst of frauds.

ELMIRA DEMOCRACY.

With pleased surprise we have read the signatures of several notable democrats, worthily led by his honor the Mayor of Elmira, attached to a petition asking of the Legislature an act of incorporation and pecuniary help for an institution that shall better the condition of colored people! The world moves.

Their signatures do honor to their hearts but not their heads. To give away public money to the Africans, already so pampered by the black republicans, is more generous than wise. Economy is your strong suit, gentlemen; and to give public money to needy colored folks will never seem economical to the democratic masses.

Moreover, these colored people, since they are to be henceforth relieved from any and from all political disabilities; and since they are entitled to a seat and tuition in any one and in all our public schools and colleges;—ought not to ask for special legislation. They ought not to be stuck up and exclusive. White schools and academics are good enough. If colored folks or catholics want separate or better schools they must pay for them themselves.

Besides:—It is wrong for the legislature to give away money to anybody on any pretence. And we are sorry that so many of our leading democrats have been led by their partiality to the colored race to ask legislation at once wasteful and unwise. We trust that the rising statesman who represents Chemung will have a cooler head than his city friends, and pocket the petition.—*Rev. J. K. Beecher in the Elmira Advertiser.*

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Thirty-sixth Annual Meeting of this Society was held yesterday at Horticultural Hall, the President, Rev. John T. Sargent, in the chair.

Mr. Sargent, in his opening remarks, said they hoped to see the day when this organization could be disbanded, but that day had not yet come; a great deal had yet to be done to remove the prejudice against color and to effect the kindred reforms.

Wendell Phillips moved that the committee on nominations be dispensed with, and that the officers of the Society of the last year be declared reëlected.

Joshua T. Everett, in support of Mr. Phillips' resolution, said he thought this organization should continue its existence until the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted, which gave the colored man the right of suffrage. Every colored man should be acknowledged in the law as the equal of every white man on the continent.

The vote being taken, the officers of the Society for the present year were chosen, as follows:—

President.—Rev. John T. Sargent.

Corresponding Secretary.—Mrs. Caroline M. Severance.

Recording Secretary.—Charles K. Whipple.

Councillors.—Wendell Phillips, Charles E. Hodges, Mrs. Sarah J. Nowell, Mrs. Mary C. Sawyer, Abraham Folsom, Joshua B. Smith, William I. Bowditch, Mrs. Caroline R. Putnam.

Treasurer.—Richard P. Hallowell.

Auditor.—William I. Bowditch.

On motion of Wendell Phillips, a committee of five was appointed on business, as follows: Wendell Phillips, Abby Kelley Foster, Aaron M. Powell, Stephen S. Foster, Caroline R. Putnam.

After they had retired to consult, John L. Russell was called upon and addressed the Society. He made an earnest appeal for the introduction of a better spirit among the representatives of Christianity, so that the rights of all men might be recognized by the church.

The committee on resolutions reported the following series:—

Resolved, That we rejoice in the near prospect of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, as that will fulfil the pledge we originally made to the black race, so far as law can do it, that we would obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.

Resolved, That we do not consider these rights secure until other guarantees than those of parchment are obtained. That the voter in such circumstances as those of the negro race needs land to make him independent, and at the outset he needs pecuniary aid to enable him to plant himself on this.

Resolved, That in our opinion the nation owes this aid to the negro—both because hitherto he has been robbed of his wages and of all chances to raise himself to the level of other workingmen, and also as a means of securing to the loyal element such protection in the exercise of its political rights as will enable it to sustain loyal magistrates and the national cause.

Resolved, That we deem the precipitate admission of half-loyal States more than a grave political error, a heedless betrayal of the nation, and a foul wrong to the brave men who have given their lives to put down rebellion, and to the loyal masses who look to Congress for protection.

Aaron M. Powell, editor of The Standard, then spoke, expressing the gratitude of Abolitionists for the advance of the cause of freedom, shown by a very close approach to the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, allowing colored people to vote in Connecticut as well as in the Southern States. He wished also to look forward, believing active effort to be still required for the security of freedom for those colored people. The question is, will freedom, when the Fifteenth Amendment is passed, mean the same thing for negroes as for whites? If not, our duties to these people remain, and our labors must continue. We have not had a thorough moral regeneration of the nation, or even of the Republican party; and we shall not have these until the clergy and the people give our colored citizens their full rights, and recover from the disease of negro hatred. He said that only one year ago, at the elections in Connecticut and Ohio, the Fifteenth Amendment issue was thought to be almost fatal to the Republican party in those States, while to-day the rebels of Georgia had been weeded out of the Legislature of Georgia, and their noble friend, Mr Sims, had returned there to vote, perhaps to-morrow, in favor of the ratification of the Amendment in that State, thus voting in the keystone in the arch of freedom. Before another week passed they would be enabled to see that it had been incorporated in the fundamental law of the land that the colored men of this country may vote on an equality with the white, not only in the South, but in Conecticut, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio. He spoke of the debate on the passage of the Virginia bill in the Senate as a battle led on by that recreant Republican, Trumbull, to bring back Virginia into the Union without the necessary guarantees that the rights of the black man would be recognized. A slight hiss being heard, he said it reminded him of old times, although hardly so strong as then, but still it served to show that they had yet to go through opposition.

Mr. Powell referred, in terms of earnest eulogy, to the noble position of Charles Sumner in the Senate, and stigmatized the course of the *New York Tribune* on reconstruction as treacherous and absurd, a pandering to the least manly and worthy portion of the Republican party.

It was too soon, Mr. Powell thought, to shout victory, while such terrible contingencies hang over the loyalists of the South. We must count upon years of conflict yet before the caste-spirit is subdued. The hotels of Boston will not yet open their doors even to the most refined and excellent persons of the colored race.

He proceeded to speak of the shameful negligence of the government in not assigning to loyal blacks the immense confiscated estates of rebels in the South, and its disastrous allowance that the old supporters of slavery should again monopolize the land in that region. What was now needed was a measure to provide for a land commission, established on the part of the national government, which should do for the freed people of the South substantially the work which the Indian commission, created last year, is doing for the Indian wards of the nation on the Western frontier. A movement of this sort, to be conducted under the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury, was of immense importance, and should be demanded with the utmost emphasis.

Mr. Higginson here interposed a doubt whether aid of this sort would benefit the negro, and Mr. Powell replied that his own convictions on this

subject had been fortified by the assurances of many intelligent colored people, who thought this measure indispensable to them.

In closing, Mr. Powell indicated the next battle to be on the Sixteenth Amendment, and made an earnest appeal for the cause of female suffrage.

Next came an

ADDRESS BY MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE.

Dear friends, a few of us only have had the merit and privilege of coöperating with the Anti-Slavery party through the whole long course of its experience and labors. But all of us are now permitted to congratulate it and ourselves on the happy issue of its undertaking. Starting in the face of every difficulty, with the historic tide of events pulling against it, the property and the piety of the land mostly out of sympathy with its measures, it waved aloft the bare flag of human rights against the battalions of human passion and interest. It was indeed a forlorn hope of conscience that Mr. Garrison and his few friends led some thirty-five years ago. But they were as sure of victory then as to-day. They had found and proclaimed the principle that always conquers, and on the high road of Truth's eternal victories, a skirmish here, a bloody battle there, the mobs and the mud of great cities, had for them little intimidation.

The world was against them, but they conquered as they went on. Spring after spring of the human heart was touched by their appeals, while the brave, uncompromising fight they made showed the power of a steadfast faith and will which their enemies were forced to respect. Bitter words they have had, bitter jest and reproach, but sweet thoughts were an all-sufficient antidote. Working to lift three millions of men from the mire of hopeless and involuntary degradation, they had little leisure to brood over indignities offered to themselves. Nay, to free that helpless crowd of captives, whose vista of futurity seemed endlessly beclouded, they themselves were willing to be bound, aye, and go to the death, as indeed has befallen some of them. And now to which of us can the word freedom have the same blessed significance as it has to them? For we have only received it as our birthright, but they have given it. The seed of good works is indeed sown on earth in dishonor. But we of to-day have seen it raised in glory.

I can easily remember the faint dawn of the black man's hope. I remember being tutored against it as children are who ask :—"Do our folks believe in it?" None of mine did, and my first indignation against the outrage of slavery was roused when a popular divine warmly upheld its necessity in the house of a relative, where his ringing phrases were loudly applauded. I had always heard till then a very modest and reluctant excuse in behalf of the then dominant party. This bold justification and defiance drew a veil from my eyes which never darkened them again. And this Mr. Garrison—what a monster was he, as painted to my childish imagination. The Southern women and children were really to have their throats cut, and he and his savage myrmidons were organizing these murders. A little later Mr. Wendell Phillips began to come in for a share of these favors. Then Miss Abby Kelley had had some black people to tea, and had waited upon them herself! Atrocious was this hospitality in the eyes of those who narrated it. Time passed on, and a bitterer feast was spread for all of us, and the blacks and we sat down to it together. Never to rise from it as aliens to each other, never more to greet each other, with false condescension on the one side, and enforced deference on the other. Now, each respects in each the image and superscription of God. Beneath these blue skies, between these broad coasts, the gift of God is direct and common to all alike. Thank God for all that has been, for fiery lessons which have burned a living truth in upon our souls, for late illumination which, coming after profoundest darkness, makes us resolve to walk purer in the light of a just and earnest conscience. The black man has had much to endure, but let him, too, thank God, for in the forge of affliction his softer metal has [illegible]

[illegible] poet Beranger has for its subject the birth of an infant. "See this little bark," he says; "it contains a lovely passenger—let us be its first sailors!" Our friends whom we greet had this boon granted them. They launched the Anti-Slavery movement, and were its earliest sailors. And now they have gathered a stately fleet about them, and who so rude, or so silly as to do them or their flag dishonor? But start as we may—steer as carefully as we can by star and compass—Providence is the Pilot that brings our vessel into port. Often does the stateliest ship lie and toss on the waves, waiting for His little signal. And we, after various fortunes, after adverse tempests and prosperous gales, have at last taken the pilot on board. The captain resigns the helm. The weather-beaten crew, brought home with honor, may rest from this voyage. Dear shall they be to our children's children—dearer to God.

At the close of this address, Col. T. W. HIGGINSON said he would contribute a little difference of opinion to the other attractions of the meeting. In old times, he said, if we had all been Garrisons, no fugitive slave would have been reëmbarked for transportation to the South. If we had all been John Browns, the procession to carry the slave to the vessel would never have been formed. But we were neither all non-resistants nor all fighting-men, and so our methods varied and our plans failed. Mr. Higginson described the situation of things when a fugitive slave was imprisoned in Boston Court-house, and again when a mob was threatening the Abolitionists in Tremont Temple. Non-resistance, he thought, had gone just far enough to hamper the Anti-Slavery people, not far enough to arouse their moral power to united action. The principles of these men have now triumphed, but many of their incidental plans failed, in consequence of a habit of judging from abstract ideas rather than from facts.

Mr. Higginson agreed with Mr. Powell in his premises, but not in his conclusion. He believed that the negro needed to be placed in a position where he would have the respect of the nation, but he also believed he would never have the respect of the nation so long as he was treated like a child. That was the great trap into which fell nearly all our philanthropists who had attempted to legislate for the South. Time had proved that negroes should bear as much of the burden of hunger and labor as the Irish or any unfortunate people. For his part he believed that the large estates ought to have been confiscated at the close of the war, but as his suggestion had not been carried out at the time, he would not have it go into force now. He thought the nation would suffer for centuries, because the estates were not confiscated. No measures brought about by war could go to the root of the matter, so no measure, sustained by war, or that had to get a standing army behind it to enforce it, could possibly be of any value if they could be obtained. Why were the men of the South suffering to-day? For want of laws? Laws were but a trifle, a secondary consideration, mere waste paper compared with the other influences that controlled the spirit of the people, namely the strength and courage of the freedmen, the manhood put into them, the character of the leaders sent down there with their carpet-bags to lead them. These were the influences that controlled the South. They could not get a little squad of soldiers to enforce obedience, in some corner of the South; no one who had ever been to the South could believe that, the region presenting as it did great obstacles to the movements of the military. They must recognize in their measures the great question what they could undertake to do in view of the present needs of the negro.

It is not special legislation, but centuries of time, that must put the colored race where they ought to be. The freedman must bide his time. Boston and Massachusetts being what they are, we can't expect very much from South Carolina; and the blacks should not continue to be kept wards of the nation.

Rev. WILLIAM H. CHANNING was the next speaker. A few years ago, he said, he had held Mr. Garrison's idea that the work of the Abolitionists was finished; he now saw how much of it remained incomplete. He differed with Col. Higginson in regard to the right course to be taken with the negroes, and thought they should remain wards of the nation until their full citizenship was practically assured. He held with Mr. Powell and Mr. Phillips that the freedmen really need to stand on their own land, and that our part is to help them. They need from us just that help which brother gets from brother under the pressure of dire necessity.

He felt constrained to bear witness to the magnanimity, the disinterestedness of the Southern negroes in their manner of receiving the aid given by the freedmen's bureau. There was not a selfish grasping, each for himself, but a readiness to let those have the help who most needed it.

Mr. Channing pronounced a hearty eulogy upon George W. Julian and upon Charles Sumner. Mr. Sumner seemed to him a moral genius, with a clear insight into principles. Men like these could be trusted to administer the concerns of the freedmen; or, he would be willing to leave the question of their position to the National Colored Labor League, which no doubt knew what it was about. A remarkable man from that body once told him that what the negroes wanted was land. That was the trouble, and that ought to have been granted in the first place. That time had passed, and hence the difficulty. If they gave the negroes land, what were they going to do with the poor white men of the North and South and the poor emigrants? They needed a great party of impartial equity to all. Let them apply justice to that people given to their guardian care by Providence, but also be prepared to apply the principle of justice to all others, and never fear the issue. There were coming very trying times to this republic. What they needed was statesmen and stateswomen who should unite the ideas of the child of God with the views of the capable, sensible man of the world, who would practically apply and adjust them to the every day world. With this they needed the artist, the clear-headed man of science to enforce regard for the laws of life. They needed the man and the woman united in common action for the good of the race. He who kept the masculine element with the feminine element and united them together would become the centre of the world. They must have this, and in the name of God they would have it, and THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD should advocate that great cause. Perhaps it should henceforth be called *The Standard of Equity*.

WENDELL PHILLIPS said he wished to say one word here. When the English House of Commons voted an extension of the franchise, the Tories said it was all the same to them, since votes without land would be of very little service. We have the same state of things here. The present disadvantages of the negroes are too great for them to struggle under without help. Can government help them? Certainly it can do as much as La Fayette did, who gave land and tools to the slaves whom he restored to freedom. The truly penitent slaveholder will return to his freedmen something more than their own bodies. The black man at the South has had and still has a load of [illegible]al contempt resting on him, which prevents [illegible] from borrowing, or getting other aid from the [illegible]es who may be his neighbors. Then we don't [illegible] the black loyalists who have fought our bat[illegible]o be dependent on the good will of rebels in [illegible]gaining for land. We must give them broad and systematic help. We must plant forty-shilling freeholders in every congressional district of the South. We must legislate for the *average* negro.

It is easy enough to lay down general laws, but it takes skill to distinguish the exceptional cases. We have on one side the oppressed class, and on the other side the money of the nation, one-seventh part of which belongs to that class. Before God, at least this proportion belongs to them. I don't fear the moral result of giving them their own money. The first principle of the case is, this nation *owes* the negro; and this is the matter we are bound to act upon, without stopping to calculate the result of prompt payment on the negro's manhood.

That is a mean, narrow, despicable civilization which, like ours, refuses hotel accommodation to colored people. We give the negro his body; but we owe him in addition one-half of Harvard College and his share in all the benefits of civilization.

Mr. Phillips spoke severely of the unfeeling policy which the editor of the *Tribune* recommends to be applied to the negro. Mr. Greeley says he must follow the rule, "Root, hog, or die." If this philosopher were turned out of his office, stripped of his spectacles, and cast out upon the bare prairie to follow the counsel he has given to the black man, he might experience a change of opinion.

The education of the country lies before us; and what is needed to improve it is a mosaic of all nations and all races, where every one shall be equal. As soon as a man in office discriminates between black and white, he ought to be dismissed in disgrace. We don't need an army, nor a soldier at the South; only a *will* at Washington, or a Ben Butler in the White House. Whenever that happens, the coon will come down without waiting to be fired at.

Mr. Higginson's account of our past mistakes is in some respects correct. But the Abolitionists did one thing; they bore their testimony openly and never surrendered their right of protest. They proclaimed the sin and the duty of the nation, and arraigned the traitors to liberty without fear or favor.

The nation's duty now is to make it plain to traitors that they have *no* rights. If this be not done, the Fifteenth Amendment will be no security to the freedmen. The opposers of that Amendment rest on the doctrine that the rebel States *have* rights, forgetting that they relinquished all these when they drew the sword. Until the black man has his due, the war still continues; only we are now fighting with Trumbull and Ross instead of Lee.

The meeting then adjourned to 3 o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Society came together again at 3 o'clock, the President in the chair.

The first speaker of the afternoon was Mr. WILLIAM CRAFT, who began by referring to those recollections of former times which made this occasion deeply interesting to him. When a fugitive from slavery in Boston, he had found kind friends here, and had received all the assistance and protection possible under the existing laws. But while the fugitive-slave law was in operation, and Daniel Webster its advocate, there was no safety here, and he had been obliged to leave the country. He noticed, as a curious instance of poetical justice, that whereas his wife had been obliged to use a man's dress to accomplish her escape from slavery, the champion of slavery, Jefferson Davis, had found it necessary to resort to female attire to make his escape from the army of freedom.

It had been intimated in the morning that the freedmen had had a great deal done for them. He must add, Mr. Craft said, that they had done a great deal for themselves; and it was only fair that the people of this country should consider the many discouraging circumstances of their condition, and give some of the help so much needed at this time. They have tilled the soil for task-masters for generations past, and it seems only reasonable that they should now be enabled to own and till it for themselves. Their general desire is for the ownership of land, and it is hard for them to live on the soil held by rebel and pro-slavery owners. These men have combined to keep the freedmen from the attainment of lands of their own, and that circumstance made it needful to try a union of friendly efforts on the other side.

Mr. Craft said he was about to return to his native State, and he hoped to see the principle of coöperation adopted by the freedmen, a disposition to unite in labors for the common good. But in addition to this, a National Bureau ought to be formed to aid them.

Some people compare the condition of the freedmen with that of the immigrant white laborer at the North. But there is a vast difference between them. Against the latter there is no prejudice and no combination. The Irishman who lands in Boston is surrounded by friends, and can get the employment he is fit for. He (Mr. Craft) had a good trade when he first came here, but could get no work. He was skilled in the cabinet maker's business, but no cabinet maker would employ him. And even now, his son, who has been seeking employment as a clerk, with good qualifications for that service, and the best references, cannot obtain a situation. There is a difference unfavorable to the colored people even here, and the difficulty is far greater in the South. So that there is abundant reason why something should be done for the freedmen, in help, not in charity. Until the disability arising from color is removed, the work of the Abolitionists will not be finished. Before closing, Mr. Craft spoke of the entire absence of this prejudice in London and Paris, and expressed his satisfaction at the recent news that a colored man, Mr. Revel, was elected to the Senate of the United States from Jeff. Davis' district.

Mr. JOHN M. LANGSTON, a refined and intelligent colored gentleman from Ohio, was then invited to speak. He said it seemed to him that the gravest question now before this nation was that of securing liberty and equality to all its people. This question of equality was not confined to the colored man it extended also to the poor whites of the South. Indeed it seemed to him that the wealthier classes, both of the South and of the North, had some interest in this great question, and also that women, both white and black, were interested in it. He believed that the two best educators of the day were Charles Sumner and Wendell Phillips. Let the latter still continue to write in THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, and the former speak to the same effect in Congress. The question of equality affected every man and woman in the nation,—it was not to be estimated by the needs of the negro alone, but by the needs of all men. He urged that the poor white man, crushed by slavery too, and the poor negro be put on an equality, and that a piece of land be given to the poor white man who also needed it. He depicted the poverty of the poor whites of the South, who had been outraged by slavery, and who needed help as much as the negro himself. There are vast numbers of communities of poor white people in the South, destitute alike of education and religion; indeed without a single civilizing or educating influence among them. As he hated slavery in the case of the negro, so he hated slavery in the case of t[illegible] stituted that [illegible] asked not or [illegible] of education [illegible] and then poo[illegible] prosper side [illegible] spoke of the land monopoly, and referred to the lessons of economy already learned by the negro of the South, the wonderful advance he had made, often eclipsing the white men in education and thought. He wanted the negro never to forget he was a negro, the Irishman never to forget he was an Irishman. He wanted the negro never to be satisfied until he made himself equal in achievement to the white man. He wanted a black Wendell Phillips, a black Sumner in the Congress, negro physicians, and negro lawyers, in the community. He wanted the negro to go hand in hand with all other men in elevating to a really higher position the nation.

Among other needed improvements, Mr. Langston said, the clergy and the churches needed to confess that the Bible and the Constitution do not justify slavery. If the government would not confiscate the lands of rebels for the benefit of the two classes hitherto held in bondage, he would have it tax those lands for the founding of schools, the repair of roads, and the many public improvements needed in all that region. Then a considerable number of the rebel landholders would be obliged to sell, and then the negroes and poor whites could buy.

Money, said Mr. Langston, has a moral as well as a material value, and the colored people are finding it out. Some of them are already thriving and prosperous. The poor whites in the South are in some respects worse off than the negro. Their inability to read is so universal that in many places notched posts are in use instead of lettered guide-posts or mile-stones, the number of notches showing the number of miles to the next town. Some of these people, however, have begun to seek education, and are even associating with negroes to get it. On the whole, Mr. Langston saw great signs of encouragement. He wanted the negro clearly to understand that this country is *his* country, and its government *his* government, and to take an active part in making both country and government what they should be.

At the close of this animated and brilliant speech the President said—The eloquence of Massachusetts is fairly matched. He then introduced to the meeting Miss EDMONIA HIGHGATE of Syracuse.

Miss HIGHGATE said that, after laboring five years as a teacher in the South, it was perhaps appropriate for her to give a report of the state of things there. In her opinion, even if the Fifteenth Amendment should now be ratified, it would be only a paper ratification. Even in the instruction given to the ignorant there lacks some of the main essentials of right instruction. The teachers sent out by the evangelical organizations do very little to remove caste-prejudice, the twin sister of slavery. The teachers themselves need to be taught. She wanted missionaries of humanity and justice sent there. President Lincoln was accustomed to take credit to himself for moving forward no faster than the people demanded. The Republicans in the South do no better. We need *Anti-Slavery* teachers there; teachers who will show that it is safe to do right. The Anti-Slavery Society must not disband, because its work in the South is not yet half done; and if not now thoroughly done, it will have to be done over again.

As to lands for the freedmen, and all other help proposed for them, all we can do is only a part of what the nation owes to the colored people. It is no gratuity. These men and women have earned more than all we can do for them; and not only is their state necessitous, but in the interior rural districts considerable numbers are yet held in positive slavery.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER, being called for, came forward, and spoke of his unwillingness to think, at present, of a "last meeting" of Abolitionists. We are not authorized to dissolve, or even to curtail our operations. The work is not yet done. The freedmen have not yet their liberty, in any full sense of that word. The negro of the South is not yet able to use his hands and feet for his own benefit. If he cannot freely vote for the man of his choice, he has not the ballot. The possessor of the land in any country has the power to tyrannize, and while the Southern lands are monopolized by men who hate the negro, he is not free. As yet, we have given the slave only the hope of liberty. He will not have liberty till he has land.

Some are here asking whether the Southern freedman was not as well off as the Northern laborer. Mr. Foster answered, No, there was no analogy between the two cases. The Northern white laborer, however poor, was *free*; the freedman had a paper title to freedom, but had not possession of freedom itself. He asked interposition in behalf of the negro because God gave him rights which we had taken away, and it was our business to restore them.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, on the part of the Business Committee, here read some additional resolutions, as follows:—

Resolved, That we recognize, with profound gratitude, the wonderful progress which fills the chair once occupied by Jefferson Davis by choosing a colored man, Mr. Revel, to hold it.

Resolved, That we renew our earnest protest against the spirit of caste still so prevalent in the colleges, lecture-rooms, hotels, cars and churches of the nation, rejoicing to recognize the few but noble exceptions, and glad there is one hotel in Boston where a colored person can pass unchallenged to enjoy all its advantages.

Resolved, That the Anti-Slavery Society takes this opportunity to repeat the expression of its sympathy with the Cuban revolutionists, trusting to their proclamations and conduct (acknowledged even by Spaniards) as evidence that slavery is really and truly abolished in Cuba, and that the masses will endorse and execute in this respect the purpose of their leaders.

After the reading of these resolutions, Mr. CHARLES LENOX REMOND used the few remaining minutes in expressing his dissent from some statements of Mr. Langston respecting the relative condition of blacks and poor whites at the South.

The meeting then adjourned to 7 1-2 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

At the evening session AARON M. POWELL, in correction of a statement made in the morning, said that the Adams House was an exception to other fashionable hotels in Boston, inasmuch as it entertained colored guests with perfect courtesy.

He wished also to say, in regard to Mr. Langston's report of Southern affairs, that in many places there colored people are not yet allowed to travel in railroad cars on equal terms with others. And, aside from the great centres of Southern population, it is true, as Miss Highgate has said, that many are still held in actual slavery.

Mr. Powell referred to the resolution lately read expressing the sympathy of Abolitionists for the anti-slavery patriots of Cuba, and said he was glad to send them such a word of greeting.

The editor of the *Commonwealth*, Mr. CHARLES W. SLACK, then addressed the audience. His heart was full of congratulation at the auspicious circumstances under which they had met. He depicted a hopeful view of the future, and at some length eulogized Gen. Grant and commended the action of the Republican party. As a member of that party he would say that it needed a vigorous maintenance of the policy pursued by this Society. Mr. Sumner needed the moral force which the customary action of this Society would bring to his aid. And for himself, Mr. Slack said, he welcomed the full and free criticism made from this platform on political affairs and political parties.

[illegible]s. MARY A. LIVERMORE, late of Chicago, now [illegible]oston, next addressed the meeting.

[illegible]e wished to declare her deep interest in the [illegible]-Slavery cause, as well as in that of woman's [illegible]nchisement. These two reforms should go [illegible] in hand, since women and negroes have so long been ranked together as inferior classes.

She had supposed that this Society and its STANDARD would close their operations with the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment; but some new outrages in the South which had just come to her knowledge, showing that that region is neither subdued nor reconstructed, had taught her that Anti-Slavery labor must still be carried on. You have brought the colored people, said Mrs. Livermore, through the wilderness, within sight of the promised land. You cannot leave them there helpless. We have not completed our duty to them. The negro cannot yet get land to live on, cannot *buy* it, even if he had the money; cannot have that which is needed to make the ballot valuable. To forsake these poor sufferers now would be to renounce Christianity. Within a short time the government had given millions of acres to rich corporations, and yet the poor negro could not get twenty-five acres. There is every encouragement to go on demanding the rights thus denied. The truths told by Wendell Phillips in THE STANDARD are extensively copied by Western papers, and read by Western men, and the prospect of full success is growing constantly brighter.

She had been talking, Mrs. Livermore said, rather against her own interest, for she had hoped that the Anti-Slavery cause would be completely triumphant now, so as to leave the field clear for *her* enterprise, the Women's cause. But the rights of the freedmen must be maintained without intermission or relaxation until they are practically realized.

Mrs. LUCY STONE was then asked to speak. She said that if there was either fear or hope that this was the last Anti-Slavery meeting, she would on no account fail to speak her word here. She well remembered that the woman question came up as an incident in the anti-slavery struggle long years ago; that then the clergy had tried to prevent Abby Kelley from speaking for the slave, and that the Abolitionists she now saw around her had then stood up unflinchingly for woman's rights also. When Lucretia Mott was refused her seat as delegate in a World's Convention in London, because she was a woman, William Lloyd Garrison, another delegate, refused to take his seat, and stood outside with his rejected colleague. The early Abolitionists added to their special work the advocacy of the women's cause, and we of that cause must never forget or forsake them.

WENDELL PHILLIPS was the next speaker.

With Clarkson, he said, 87 years ago, began the first movement to arouse sympathy among civilized nations for the negro race. The negro movement has lifted up nations into angry war, has taken the brightest jewels from some of the European crowns, and has added some of the finest characters for the Plutarch of modern history. I believe that fifty years hence, when some future Tocqueville shall analyze the intellectual life of the century, he will have to trace a larger amount of information and purpose regarding freedom of speech, the duties of citizenship, the obligation of law, the nature of government, the right of resistance, the treatment of mobs in civil life, political economy, the ethnology of the day, the relations of races, the psychological problem that has made the last fifty years so remarkable in the intellectual life of Europe,—to this movement than to any other. I think he will have to say that a large amount of this intellectual exertion was provoked, was called into life by the exigencies of this great movement in behalf of the negro race. From Agassiz and Harley, back to all the pretenders to science, from Webster and his associates, back to Denman and Mansfield, there is no great lawyer whose fame does not take its lustre from his accidental connection with this question. All that man remembers now of Mansfield is that he made a statute out of the line of Cowper, "slaves cannot breathe in England." His commercial law, his wisdom in Roman civil law, all that he did to broaden and ameliorate the narrow common law of England, are forgotten. To-day his fame stands on that one lifting of his hand, reluctantly, after eight years' delay, at the solicitation of a Quaker clerk. And so of a great many other reputations. If Benton lives, he lives on the reputation of the last ten years of his life. Clay was killed because he could not rise to full loyalty in the epoch of this question. Webster went down into the night, because, breadth of intellect though he had, he had not the moral force to breathe in the better atmosphere of anti-slavery. We cannot give the negro anything. No man can, in the full sense of the word, give the negro. All we can do is to secure loyal recognition of the rights he already has. The significance of to-day is that we stand in the Constitution. The negro, in the eye of the law, is as good as a white man. Now make your law a realty. New England said, a great many years ago, that every man might enjoy his religious opinions; but when Abner Kneeland defied the inspiration of the New Testament, New England seized him, and indicted him. Fortunately, he stood inside the law, and although the present judgment ran against him, the great common sense of the people overruled the decisions of the Supreme Court, and said, "That is not law. Let him say what he pleases. Religious opinion is free." That, I say, is the significance of to-day. When the Fifteenth Amendment is incorporated into the Constitution, the negro will be on the right side of the hedge. But you know, all of you, that law is nothing but paper until you put public opinion behind it. We are to lift our half-Pagan civilization into a Christian civilization; and our cause will never be ended until that is done.

The freedom of the platform amongst us, said Mr. Phillips, has been accomplished more by Theodore Parker's lectures than by any written argument for it.

In 1832, twelve men in Boston, after serious deliberation, agreed to the doctrine of immediate emancipation, and formed this Society, then called the New England Anti-Slavery Society. Among these men was Frances Jackson, one of those sturdy bits of granite that mark the highest achievement of a race. Society was against us. The church set its foot on us. The Judges made the religion of color a part of the common law of Massachusetts. In spite of all this, we undertook to labor for the legal recognition of the full rights of the negro. We have nearly accomplished a change in the letter of the law; now we must work to make this change substantial. The cannon-ball struck off the negro's chain, but it left behind the virus of race-hatred. We must have the atmosphere of a wider civilization to combat this caste-prejudice.

We are not to give up our enterprise. Clarkson is with us to-night, demanding that we complete his work. Even the redemption of the North must come through the masses of black voters in the South. When the Fifteenth Amendment shall be ratified, the negro will be lifted to equal rights, as far as paper can raise him. But will the law be then a fact? Not at all. "Prohibition" is a law in Massachusetts, but it has never been a fact.

How to do it? Just as you do anything else. Put some property into it. Let every negro get money, in every way but by stealing it. We are in a stage of civilization where property wields immense influence, and the negro, like the other races, must become a holder of property, and a holder of land. We must introduce the New England town system into the South. The town system includes the school, and thence only can Northern civilization come. Unless we can thus (and soon) gain the right reconstruction, all these questions must be tried over again before the Supreme Court.

Mr. Higginson (said Mr. Phillips) criticised Garrison's statesmanship; but no man's record in this country needs less amendment as a statesman than his. The *Liberator* and the New York *Herald* always prophesied right; because Bennett knew the corruption, and Garrison the conscience of the American people.

We hear the condition of our Irish laborers compared with that of the freedmen. The Irishman has been plundered by England. Let England pay him. Our debt is to the negro; and there is not wealth enough in the country to pay the full amount of it. The least we can do is to share with the freedmen enough of our superfluity to enable them to protect themselves. It will be cheaper for the North to spend its money in making every negro a voter, and every white man too, than to bear the expense of fighting down another rebellion.

The last speaker at this meeting was Rev. Mr. Troy, from Richmond, Virginia. He wished to say that he saw no good reason for disbanding this Society. It was needed by the colored race, both North and South. Anti-Slavery missionaries were needed at the South to keep up the spirit of freedom, and to aid the colored people to get land and the means of living. As to Virginia, her legislature is composed mainly of rebels, and the restrictive clauses in her Constitution were absolutely necessary for the safety of the freedmen. The loyalists of Virginia had been utterly opposed to her unconditional admission.

The question being then taken on the resolutions, they were adopted, and the Society adjourned.

Thus closed a most interesting, harmonious and gratifying meeting. Besides those who have been mentioned as speakers, there were on the platform David Lee Child, Mrs. L. Maria Child, Angelina Grimké Weld, Mrs. George L. Russell, Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel White of Concord, N. H., and other firm friends of the cause.

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, Secretary.

THE VIRGINIA DEBATE IN THE SENATE.

[FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.]

WASHINGTON, February 1, 1870.

THE Virginia debate in the Senate commencing soon after the holiday recess, and continuing until nearly to the close of the month of January, had one distinguishing feature which deserves and should receive particular mention in the columns of THE STANDARD.

This feature was the determined and uncompromising warfare waged by Charles Sumner, primarily against the admission of Virginia at all at the present time, and secondarily against her admission without weighty conditions precedent. Commencing the fight almost alone, he never wavered or fell back, but gathering strength as he proceeded, it ended in his substantial triumph.

Mr. Trumbull's attacks on him were characteristic. In "effrontery" they have rarely been excelled. This recreant Illinois senator had the temerity to arraign before the country Charles Sumner as not true to the cause of the negro!! Could impudence further go? In one of his replies Mr. Sumner proudly said: "My record on the slavery question is made up. I commit it to the history of my country." And he may be well-assured that the history of his country will contain no brighter page.

In his final reply to Mr. Trumbull, in which he also closed the debate, he showed that mastery of the noblest weapons of oratory, which place him head and shoulders above all other members of the American Senate. Nothing could be more dignified and impressive than the opening, nothing more touching and eloquent than the close. I hope you will find room to give it to your readers entire. To appreciate its full power, it should, however, be read in connection wi[illegible] [illegible] effort of Trumbull.

His rejoinder to Mr. Trumbull's asp[illegible] on the suffrage question was crushing. First, [illegible] that he was the *author* of the very pro[illegible] Trumbull taunted him with not having voted [illegible] illness) and second, he showed that this pro[illegible] ferring suffrage on the blacks, was only [illegible] countering Trumbull's persistent opposition. [illegible] swer could be more complete or final. Our a[illegible] is excited at the "effrontery" of the senator [illegible] make such a charge, and it can only be att[illegible] that heedless malice which is engendered b[illegible] sciousness of inevitable defeat.

Mr. Sumner had charged that the whole [illegible] Virginia was a gigantic fraud, meaning [illegible] carried by Gov. Walker with the avowed [illegible] subverting the free constitution as soon as [illegible] should be admitted under it. Mr. Sumner [illegible] this by the speeches of Gov. Walker himself. W[illegible] of course, disavowed during the debate, [illegible] deuce after the fact, such disavowal [illegible] weight, either legally or morally. T[illegible] fraud Mr. Trumbull opposed the statemen[illegible] Canby designated only five counties in wh[illegible] cases of fraud! Mr. Sumner rejoined to th[illegible] force, as follows:

"I said that the election in the whole sta[illegible] by a conspiracy reaching from one end [illegible] the other, of which the candidate for Gove[illegible] head, to obtain the control of the State, an[illegible] take the loyalists away from the prote[illegible] Congress. That was my allegation. Is [illegible] saying to me that I do not adduce evidence [illegible] districts, or that there were only five dis[illegible] gard to which we have such evidence? Ho[illegible] that if you should go into an inquiry y[illegible] find that very evidence with regard to all [illegible] The Senator sets his face against inqu[illegible] know. But I did not intend to open this que[illegible] object was entirely different; it was to show [illegible] beginning to end the whole canvass was a [illegible] fraud; that Walker by a fraudulent conspi[illegible] himself upon the State; that by appeals [illegible] obtained their votes and thus installe[illegible] with the understanding that when once [illegible] should administer the State in their interest."

His replies to the other trivial counts in Mr. T[illegible] bull's indictment were equally felicitous. He [illegible] the following noble strain:

"And now, sir, as I stand before the Se[illegible] by a last effort to prevent the sacrifice of [illegible] white and black, in Virginia, I feel that I am [illegible] ing only a simple duty. To do less would be a [illegible] failure. I must persevere. This cause I hav[illegible] this people I long to save; this great State [illegible] I long to secure as a true and loyal State in t[illegible] Union. Show that such is her character a[illegible] come shall surpass mine."

It is the shame of the Republican press [illegible] M[illegible] ner's encounter with Trumbull has receive[illegible] mns hardly any notice which does any [illegible] Sumner. So far as I am aware the Wash[illegible] icle and the Boston *Commonwealth*, are t[illegible] publican papers which have published Mr [illegible] reply *in extenso*. The New York *Times*, the N[illegible] *Tribune* and the Boston *Advertiser* have not [illegible] inadequate, or more or less in Mr. Trumbul[illegible] and hostile to Mr. Sumner. * *

For many years Mr. Sumner has been to u[illegible]

"—that tower of strength
That stood four square to all the winds that blew"

and the following passage in his late speech [illegible] touching significance to those who know [illegible] ness and reproachings of hasty or mistaken [illegible] has often labored.

"I have no taste for controversy; much rath[illegible] give the little of strength that now rem[illegible] the direct advocacy of those great pri[illegible] my life in humble measure has been ded[illegible] getting any of my other duties as a Senat[illegible] in any respect failed I regret it. Let me s[illegible] simplicity I have done much less than I wish I [illegible] have failed often, oh! how often, when I wish I [illegible] vailed. No one can regret it more than I. But I [illegible] been constant and earnest always. Such, G[illegible] such I mean to be to the end."

Long may he live to render, in the future as [illegible] past, the same illustrious service to his country [illegible] Mankind.

BRANDE[illegible]

National Anti-Slavery Standard

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT CO[illegible]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY [illegible]

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDE[illegible]

BOSTON, Jan. [illegible]

OUR Anti-Slavery Anniversary Mee[illegible] us of the rapid and gratifying progress [illegible] cause these later years. A year ago it was [illegible] open question whether Congress would [illegible] not adopt and submit to the States for rati[illegible] a Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment, guara[illegible] teeing equal political rights to the colored [illegible] It was then our chief concern to urge the c[illegible] of that important, fundamental measure upon the attention of Congress and the country. [illegible] the year the Amendment has received not o[illegible] favorable consideration of Congress, but has [illegible] so nearly ratified as to require but the affirmative vote of a single State, ere it shall be pr[illegible] as a part of the fundamental law of the land. G[illegible] gia, re-reconstructed, is ready for action, and [illegible] fore this paragraph is printed will not unl[illegible]ely, [illegible] the twenty-eighth State, have completed the ratification!

The ratification of the Fifteenth Amendm[illegible] far completes the triumph and redeems, at [illegible] technically, the pledge of the Anti-Slave[illegible] ment to its clients, the colored people, [illegible] were prepared this year to see a noticeable f[illegible] off of interest in our Subscription Fest[illegible] Anti-Slavery Meetings. We were [illegible] appointed, therefore, to find the interest [illegible] quite equal to former years. The atten[illegible] the Festival on Wednesday evening was ver[illegible] and the subscriptions were generous. T[illegible] would probably be the last of these ga[illegible] delightful socially, and so useful in other [illegible] pecuniary results, called forth many regrets [illegible] the general rejoicing. Both in the addresses [illegible] ing the evening of the Festival, and those of the [illegible] lowing day before the Massachusetts Anti-S[illegible] Society, there was a full recognition of [illegible] sponsibility which still rests upon the shoulders [illegible] conscientious men and women, if not u[illegible] *Anti-Slavery*, then some other name, to con[illegible] the conflict against the still prevalent and powe[illegible] spirit of CASTE.

It was eloquently and forcibly shown by one speaker and another that the colored people, [illegible] North and South, are still an exceptional and a suffering class, *because of color*. Even in Bost[illegible] it was stated that an intelligent, well educated young man, a son of WILLIAM and ELLEN CRAFT, who has enjoyed and improved the advantages of the best schools of Paris and London during their prolonged residence abroad, has found it impossible to obtain any situation suited to his abilities, though proffered several, which his *color*, as it subsequently became known, deprived him of! Even Anti-Sla[illegible] very Boston is still, in many ways, under the hateful rule of color prejudice. How severely this prejudic[illegible]

still oppresses the colored people of the South, putting in jeopardy their lives in many localities, and rendering their freedom in many respects but a cruel mockery of what it should be, was brought clearly into view. With the continued need of special, conscientious effort in behalf of the colored people, even with the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, guaranteeing, on paper, equal political rights—we are gratified to be able to convey, especially to our Southern readers, the assurance that their critical situation and urgent needs will not be lost sight of by the conscientious and discriminating men and women who have so long pushed on the Anti-Slavery conflict, and to whom the rights of humanity are more than mere conventional, creed, and party interests. If not in the name of the *Anti-Slavery* Societies, then under some other,—if not in the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, then in a journal to be known simply as THE STANDARD, shall we press our demand earnestly and conscientiously until FREEDOM shall mean as much for the colored, as for the white people of America.

We enter presently, with the official promulgation of the Fifteenth Amendment, upon a new phase of our work. With immense gain in the new vantage ground, we shall engage in the struggle for the *enforcement* of the law of impartial freedom for white and colored under *National* authority hitherto unrecognized. Whereas formerly the National arm was stretched out authoritatively over the continent only to capture the fugitive or suppress the slave insurrection, now, under the regenerated and amended constitution, it is the *citizen and the freeman* who is to be shielded and protected in all his rights, civil and political, irrespective of color, and at all hazards, whatever State obstructions may stand or be placed in the way. Trained and disciplined Abolitionists must be as vigilant for the protection of the citizen, colored or white, as the slaveholders were for slavery and its interests, while they controlled the national government. The tables are turned. But all even of Republican politicians and so-called Christian ministers, have not yet found it out. It must be our mission still to teach them. We must help the old time eulogists of the Constitution (from whom we hear little since Andrew Johnson's return to Tennessee), and those divines who took "South-side views" of slavery, and praised and prayed for the "peculiar institution" as ordained of God, to adjust their notes to the new order of things.

The particulars of the Festival,—the generous contributions and arduous labors of the lady managers, the speakers and their addresses, the distinguished guests and well-known anti-slavery men and women who were in attendance, etc.,—will be given by another, and in the Festival Report. So too we refer our readers to the secretary's report for the details of the meetings of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. If these prove to be the last of their kind, under the old auspices and name, we are sure that all who were in attendance will always count it good to have been there.

Following naturally, as a logical sequence, after the Anti-Slavery Meetings, came the Woman Suffrage Convention, which resulted in the formation of a State Woman-Suffrage Association. Mrs. JULIA WARD HOWE was chosen President of the Association, supported by a long list of Vice Presidents, in which were the names of many who had been conspicuous in the Anti-Slavery movement. The speaking was for the most part of a high order of merit and eloquence. Among those who addressed the Convention, each session of which was fully attended, were Mrs. LIVERMORE, LUCY STONE, Mr. GARRISON, Rev. WILLIAM H. CHANNING, WENDELL PHILLIPS, Rev. JAMES FREEMAN CLARK, Rev. Mr. CONNOR, Rev. PHEBE A. HANAFORD, Mrs. CHURCHILL and others. At a later date we shall give our readers some additional account of this very interesting and useful Convention.

During the week a Peace Convention also was held, and, we believe, with results encouraging to those who would attain a true peace by securing its essential conditions. A. M. P.

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

WE hoped to be able, in the present issue of THE STANDARD, to announce the completed ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. The technical difficulty in the Iowa Legislature has been adjusted since our last, and the ratification is now complete in that State. But one more is required. The Georgia Legislature is now in session and at last fully organized for business, with a working Republican majority in each branch. The question of final ratification is one therefore of a few days, or perhaps hours. All hail! the auspicious event.

AT an early day, following the official promulgation of the Fifteenth Amendment by the Secretary of State, the American Anti-Slavery Society will hold a fitting commemorative meeting in this city. This meeting, the members and friends of the society, from all parts of the country, will desire to attend. The precise date of course cannot be indicated in advance of the Secretary's proclamation. It is strongly probable that it will occur within a month. We mention the prospective meeting now that all may make seasonable arrangements, and hold themselves in readiness to assemble here upon short notice and participate in the glorious commemorative celebration!

THE colored people of Tennessee are to hold a State Convention in Nashville on the 21st inst. We shall print the Call for the Convention next week. Delegates are requested to furnish all the information that can be obtained, on Schools, on Farming, on Wages per month and per year, on Contracts and their fulfilment, on treatment of hands, on Crimes, Arrests and Convictions, etc. It is just this kind of information that is greatly desired. We trust the Convention will be in every respect successful, and do much to make the real condition of the colored laboring people of Tennessee known to the public at large.

WE are indebted to the courtesy of the editors of *The Woman's Journal* for advance slips of its account of the very interesting proceedings of the Woman Suffrage Convention in Boston last week. The crowded state of our columns precludes our using them this week. We shall give extracts in our next.

AARON M. POWELL will lecture under the auspices of the Ghent Temperance Association, at Ghent, N. Y., on Monday evening, Feb. 7th, at 7 1-2 o'clock.

We are obliged to defer several communications, and much interesting matter, intended for our present issue, till next week.

PERSONAL.

Jackson Shultz, Esq., a liberal-minded, generous-hearted merchant of this city, has been chosen President of the Union League Club, as the successor of the Hon. John Jay.

Senator Revels, the colored United States Senator from Mississippi, elected to fill the senatorial chair vacated by Jefferson Davis, has arrived at Washington, and is very kindly received.

The Bucks County (Pa.) *Intelligencer*, of the 25th ult., says: "Charles C. Burleigh, one of the veteran lecturers on abolition and temperance, in this county, thirty years ago, made an eloquent address in Newtown, on Wednesday evening last, on the subject of temperance, and on the difference between the wine which was blessed, and the wine which was not blessed."

The Philadelphia *Morning Post* of Tuesday says: "The second series of the Star Course of Lectures was opened last evening under the most gratifying auspices, a brilliant audience assembling at the Academy of Music to hear Wendell Phillips, the unrivaled American orator, discourse upon 'The Questions of To-morrow.'

"Mr. Phillips was received with a round of applause on being introduced, and at once commenced his discourse in a low tone and in a quiet, deliberate manner, which was retained to the close. He was followed with the closest interest. With eagerness did the audience wait for the speaker's every word."

Our Boston Correspondence.

NO. CCLXII.

BOSTON, January 30th, 1870.

WE have had a crowded and hurrying, but a delightful and successful week. First came

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION FESTIVAL,

which was rich in satisfactions, like its predecessors. If we rejoiced to see each other's faces in a series of meetings implying continued distance and difficulty in the attainment of our object, and the prospect each time of another year of hard work amidst difficulties and discouragements, how much more now, when such large and important instalments of success have been gained. Former festivals of this series have been joyous in the resolution to keep on working. This one was radiant in the measurable attainment of success. The room was adorned with flowers, and crowded with joyous fellow-laborers; and the mutual greetings of these were so emphatic and so continuous, that even the eloquence from the platform, usually a prominent feature of the occasion, found only a partial hearing. For the details of this eloquence, I must refer you to a report (herewith sent) in the *Daily Advertiser* of the following morning.* Of the amount of funds gained for continued operations I have not yet heard.

The next day, Thursday the 27th, came the

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

the three sessions of which were well attended, lively, harmonious, full of interest, and rich in eloquence. There was due rejoicing over the ground gained, and due remembrance and inculcation of the duties yet pressing upon Abolitionists. There was no time lost, no wearisome verbiage, no discord, and (wonderful to tell) not one of those "fleas of Conventions" which in former times were so serious an annoyance both to flesh and spirit. The effect of the meeting was to stimulate its members to thank God and take courage. Of its material details you have probably already received an official report.

Next came, on Friday, in the same place, a Convention called by fifty of the solid men and women of this State, for the purpose of forming a

MASSACHUSETTS WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

The list of names signed to the Call for this Convention, embracing as it did the most respectable, venerable and thoughtful of all classes and professions, of course called together a body of earnest men and women, appreciating the wisdom of this counsel, and ready for the active labors implied in the acceptance of it.

Of this meeting, continued with a full attendance through the day and evening, I may say, as of the one last mentioned, that it was full of interest and eloquence, persuasive and convincing, perfectly harmonious, and ready to enter with energy upon the work implied in a radical reform of some of our laws and customs. There was formed a "Massachusetts Woman's Suffrage Association," auxiliary to the *American* Woman's Suffrage Association" recently formed at Cleveland, Ohio; and by the plans for active labor in this cause set forth from the platform, and the hearty assent given them by the audience, we may expect a vigorous campaign during the present winter, and a rapid progress of public sentiment towards the realization of true democracy in Massachusetts. For the details of this meeting I think you cannot possibly have room this week, but they will come to you in advance slips from the *Woman's Journal*, in time for next week.

31st.—Turn about (says the proverb) is fair play; and the dealings of Divine Providence correspond with this lesson of human wisdom, in obliging me to think better of the demonstration of orthodoxy given in the Shawmut Church last evening, and worse of the Horticultural Hall discourse yesterday afternoon, than of their last week's predecessors.

THE SUNDAY AFTERNOON LECTURE.

The second of the series of Sunday afternoon lectures in Horticultural Hall was given yesterday by Rev. O. B. Frothingham of New York city. His subject was "The Revealed and the Hidden God."

He began by saying that for a brief period preceding the French revolution, the belief in God seemed to have lost its hold on cultivated intellect, and the creed of atheism challenged the assent of the philosophical world. Since then the ancient faith had been steadily pushing its antagonist to the wall. This is the more remarkable, as the arguments of atheism have been continually gaining in force, and as the definitions of deity have been losing substance, and becoming attenuated under the attrition of speculative thought. The matter in debate, however, is still the divine revelation.

The question raised by Mr. Frothingham in regard to revelation was "*Does* God explain himself?" The old faith, he said, implied that God was hidden both by reason of the inscrutableness of his nature and the depths of his design. The new faith starts with the assumption that God conceals nothing; it is His nature to discover himself; the universe is a vision of him, creation is His manifold symbol; the Heavens declare the glory of God, the firmament showeth His handiwork. Passing over the speculative merit of this difference, he proposed to challenge this idea of revelation, and inquire into the conception of a God who discloses himself at pleasure, who selects his company, who chooses his hour, and breaks the silence either in the thunder of the oracle, or in the whisper of the still small voice in the heart.

From this point Mr. Frothingham went on to speak of Fanaticism, seeming to include under this head belief in both the forms of revelation just named. He mentioned many cases of fanatic delusion, naming among them Ravaillac, who had a call to murder Henri IV., Bunyan, tormented by the persuasion that he had committed the unpardonable sin, Brigham Young, who commits it every day without compunction, the revival preacher, mistaking perspiration for inspiration, and his personal magnetism for the presence of God, and the Mormon elder, believing he has a revelation that Mormonism shall suffer no shock—and seemed to include with these, as equally a fanatic delusion, the idea that man could hold any intercourse with God whatever.

The lesson Mr. Frothingham drew from history was that "to speak of the necessity of revelation was logical once; the necessity of abandoning the thought of a revelation is logical now. He doubted if mankind needed a communicative Deity. The particular form of the idea of revelation now current had produced some enormous evils; for the existence of Salt Lake city would have been impossible but for the venerable tradition that the polygamous Hebrew partriarchs were pattern men. And what do we gain by transferring the seat of the revelation to the soul itself? The divine voice, he thought, was neither in the book nor in the soul. Let others, if they would, believe in revelation, he believed in culture, Science, he said, does not deny God, but it declines to affirm him. Then, referring to the altar erected by the Athenians to the Unknown God, he praised this method, putting it in favorable contrast alike with the old worship of graven images and the confidence in an actual and precious communion with God taught by Theodore Parker and Francis Power Cobbe. The unknown God, he said, was the father who gave his children all that they needed and then left them to themselves. And of this conception he said, "Let *us* erect an altar to the unknown God." The advantage of erecting such an altar was not made clear to your correspondent.

In his sketch of the various existing systems, Mr. Frothingham seemed to disclaim alike Atheism, Pantheism, Theism, and Spiritualism. He however used expressions recognizing the existence of a far-off God, and said, as if in explanation—"The Unknown is not the non-existent, but the possible." The state of things represented by these words seems, to the ordinary apprehension, not a cheering one; but Mr. Frothingham added—"We are no more lonely than before. The worlds of mind and matter remain. And every one has himself."

This discourse was heard in silent attention by a large audience, the hall being closely filled. There was no applause; but when, in rising and turning to go out, the assembly looked in each other's faces, the aspect of those faces seemed to your correspondent to be amazement and regret.

Col. Higginson is to give the lecture next Sunday afternoon, and the time of beginning is changed to a quarter before 4, to accommodate the return of out-of-town hearers.

THE SECOND LECTURE AGAINST POSITIVISM.

Possibly it was in consequence of having heard Mr. Frothingham's lecture that the discourse against the negations of Comte's Positivism, given the same evening by Rev. Prof. Herrick of Bangor Theological Seminary, seemed to have some justification for its existence, although the audience to whom it was spoken seemed the least possible likely to entertain errors of that particular sort. This was the second of the course of free lectures of which I spoke last week, to be delivered in the Shawmut Church, Sunday evenings, and repeated in the Old South Chapel Monday afternoons. It was a calm, clear, dispassionate, intelligible, and in many respects a very good statement. Besides certain unsound assumptions of Comte and Herbert Spencer, it controverted kindred opinions expressed by Prof. Youmans, Prof. Bain and Matthew Arnold. What seemed to your correspondent defects in the discourse were the assumption (common to the whole class of orthodox preachers) that the essence of Christianity was an atonement for the sins of the world effected through the violent death of Jesus, called Christ, and also the preacher's use of the expression "Christian Theism" as a synonym of that supernatural sacrificial system. It is bad enough for preachers of that class to attempt to monopolize the name "Christianity." For them to take possession of the name "Christian Theism," a name used for ten years past as the appropriate designation of the very different teachings of Theodore Parker, Frances Power Cobbe and Frances W. Newman, seems an unjustifiable confounding of things that differ. NORTH.

*Will appear next week.

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, January 31st, 1870.

MARIA MITCHELL AT SWARTHMORE.

ON Saturday evening Prof. Maria Mitchell lectured to the students of Swarthmore College. A number of friends from this city were invited to be present on the interesting occasion. Those who availed themselves of the opportunity, fully appreciating the enjoyment thus afforded, were favored with a special car for the half-hour's ride. There was social satisfaction in this. The guests were cordially welcomed by the President of the College and his colleagues, and there was a kindly estimation of the spirit of hospitality that was so agreeably evinced.

Miss Mitchell had selected for her lecture the "Great Bear," that beautiful and brilliant constellation of the northern heavens popularly known as the "dipper." It is one of the few constellations that are familiar to the eye of even the most casual star-gazer, on account of its noticeable character; and the lecturer chose it for the evening's lesson because of the opportunity it gave, owing to its situation, for introducing into her remarks some allusion to the leading characteristics of the siderial regions. We became acquainted with the names of some of the stars that compose the "dipper," or "Charles's wain," especially of bright "Mizar" in the handle, and its apparently near and diminutive companion "Alcor." The two stars in the body of the dipper known as the "pointers," the names of which I have hopelessly forgotten, (who wouldn't?) are so called because they are very nearly in range with that familiar little orb that has a historic place in the great drama that closed with the slave's liberation. The North Star was known to the fugitive slave as his guide to liberty. You will remember how it figured in the Anti-Slavery effusions of the time, and perhaps you will not forbid the insertion here of the following quaint stanza, which was quoted that night by one of the company as we came home under the stars:

"Star of the North! thou art not bigger
Than the diamond in my ring;
Yet, every black, star-gazing 'nigger'
Gazes at thee as at some great thing."

Refinement is sacrificed to a little coarseness of language for the sake of the rhyme, and likewise, perhaps, to illustrate the habits of speech then prevailing. That odious word is not in such frequent and conspicuous use now-a-days as formerly, and the Fifteenth Amendment is destined to banish it utterly from American speech. That is the negro's North star now, and a better guarantee of liberty than the old one in the sky. Is not all this a pardonable digression?

I make no pretension to give an adequate notice of Miss Mitchell's lecture. It was full of such pleasing and peculiar interest as a talk about the heavenly bodies only can give. The pupils listened with great quietness and attention, and it was one of the evidences of the excellent order that exists in the college.

This is the second lecture that Miss Mitchell has delivered at Swarthmore, and the only occasions of her lecturing outside of Vassar College. She is to give three more lectures there during the winter, and we may hope that these will prove the initiative to a broad and diversified field for the exercise of her talents, and the diffusion of her astronomical knowledge.

THE COLLEGE

deserves especial mention here. In a former letter I gave an account of all its prominent and distinctive features, including the ceremonies of inauguration, which occurred in the early part of November. The president, Edward Parrish, speaks with decided satisfaction in regard to the prospering condition of the school, and especially of what the Friends consider as of essential importance, the education of boys and girls together. Swarthmore college affords an added demonstration of the advantage as well as the practicability of the system on a large scale, and gives conclusive and pleasing proof that in a strictly educational point of view the plan happily answers, being equally feasible and desirable. It confirms the belief that the practice is a beneficent one, servicable alike to the girls and boys, and operating upon both with obvious good effect.

The number of pupils in attendance is one hundred and seventy, and will be increased at the beginning of the new term. The boys and girls are nearly equal in number, and if the ambition of the former leads them to compete with the latter, they can win the reward of success only by the most strenuous endeavors. The freshman class is composed of twenty-two pupils, the boys and girls numbering alike. They are classified according to merit, as determined by regular examinations, and four girls grace the head of the class, while four boys tarry at the foot. This may not seem well for the boys, but I do not believe they can help it. It is another illustration of the well-worn theme concerning the comparative mental capabilities of the sexes.

The guests had an opportunity of looking through the college after the lecture, and the observation warranted the testimony of explicit praise in behalf of the order and tidiness everywhere apparent. All things seemed to accord with the evidence of excellent discipline, and there is every reason to believe that the best expectations of its friends are realized in the successfulness of Swarthmore College.

LUCRETIA MOTT

spoke yesterday at the "Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons" in the morning, and at one of the "Wesley" churches in the evening. It would be more appropriate to say that she preached at these two places. She knows so well how to adapt her words and expressions to her hearers, that I doubt not the old people were able to enjoy most serenely the beautiful remarks of their friend. It was not my privilege to be present on either occasion, but I am told that a very large audience was in attendance at the church, and that she spoke most happily and fervently, commanding thorough attention. To the men she especially directed her words, exhorting them in view of the impending change in their condition as citizens, to fit themselves for all their duties, and be prepared to act wisely and intelligently in their new experience. They know how to appreciate her kindly admonitions, and will not fail to reap advantage from her precious advice.

WENDELL PHILLIPS

delivered his matchless lecture this evening on "The Questions of To-morrow" at the Academy of Music. It was the opening of the second series of the "Star Course." A splendid audience welcomed him. Philadelphia has fairly learned at last to regard with fervid appreciation those eloquent lips, and among many of us the spectacle of so vast a congregation tended to arouse pleasant emotions of enthusiasm. I think THE STANDARD has already published the substance of this admirable lecture, which considers with the rarest power and most subtle discernment the questions of Temperance, Labor and Woman. The soul of statesmanship in its highest tone, and the brains of truest philosophy, were made tributary to this wealth of glowing eloquence, and it seemed manifest that the effect upon the minds of the auditors was profoundly impressive. Who can measure the beneficent influence wrought by such a lecture? W.

UTILE CUM DULCI.

A PLEASANT MEETING IN BOSTON.

AS it was known beforehand that Aaron M. Powell, Editor of THE STANDARD, would attend the Anti-Slavery Subscription Festival in this city, Mr. and Mrs. Sargent, in whose parlors so many agreeable gatherings have been held, seized the opportunity to engage him to read a paper, and called together some of their friends and neighbors to hear it. In response to this invitation, a very pleasant party assembled, and some friendly soul sent abundance of beautiful flowers, with which the rooms were adorned.

Mr. Powell chose for his subject 'The Lesson of Quakerism," and began by rehearsing some of the distinctive characteristics of that system.

The great central doctrine of Quakerism, he said, is that of the direct communication of God with the human soul, called by the people of that faith "Immediate Inspiration."

The Hicksite Friends, among whom the speaker had his birth education, were less strenuous than others in the reception of Jesus as a Saviour, and also in regard to the theory of Scriptural inspiration. Nevertheless, there were some "orthodox" Hicksites.

The estimate of human nature held by this branch of the Quakers was an exalted one. In it there was no room for the doctrine of atonement by a sacrificed redeemer, nor for that of a book supreme in authority over the human conscience.

The record shows Jesus to have been essentially human, and his mediation and help to have been of the same sort that ours might and should be. His mission was to lift us all to the understanding of immediate communion with God. Quakerism had the same mission. Friends are taught to recognize the Fatherhood of God, and the individual rights of their fellow-men as his children.

If it were necessary to accept the common definition of Christianity, we might well abandon that name, for the average type of it is as false to the teaching of Jesus as partisan Democracy is to freedom. But there is no good ground for accepting this definition. To worship Jesus as a mediator and savior would be to claim for him a character he did not claim for himself. He was a radical reformer, and would be cast out like one if he should now come to preach to the people who bear his name. The best view we can take of Jesus is to apply to himself the idea he taught of the extent and scope of the human character. For his own part, Mr. Powell said, he liked the name "Christian," and hoped yet to see it relieved from its bondage to creed. Our opportunities are the same with those that Jesus enjoyed; our business, like his, is to lead a life of intimate communion with the Father.

Mr. Powell then gave a brief account of the distinctive peculiarities of George Fox, the founder of Quakerism. He appeared at a time when externalism in religion reigned supreme, and when an outward, superficial and corrupt view of man's relation to God was taught by the priesthood and received by the people. He refused to attend the services of the established church, yet found himself no better satisfied among the dissenters, since he believed that God did not dwell in temples made with hands. At length he sought solitude, and, finding clearness and peace there, gave himself up to follow the inward light. He affirmed that God himself would teach his children, the savage as well as the civilized and women as well as men, and that Christ was to be sought within, not without. In some things, no doubt, he was limited and narrow-minded; but the essential truths he taught were an immense improvement on the religious system then prevailing.

Quakerism had its martyr period, both in England and in this country. Of the people of that faith, 4,200 were at one time in English prisons, and there were hundreds of deaths of those of them who were subjected to torture. New England also, and Boston especially, had a bad preeminence for persecution of the Quakers, and Whittier's ballad of Cassandra Southwick shows how they were treated in Salem. Mary Dyer was hanged in Boston by Gov. Endicott, and any Quaker even coming into that town was to be seized and flogged as a vagrant.

It is a good rule to judge of the tree by its fruit. The record of the Quakers in the sphere of good works will well compare with that of any other sect. George Fox opposed slavery, though Elizabeth Heyrick was the first to demand immediate emancipation. The Quakers took an active part in the movement against West Indian slavery. In this country the Quakers early took the ground that no Friend might buy or hire a slave. John Woolman was an active mover in this matter, and Benjamin Lundy was the connecting link between the Quaker ground and the movement begun by Garrison.

The Friends furnished for the anti-slavery work a proportionately greater number than the other sects, but most of their societies followed the example of those other sects in standing aloof from the movement. Abby Kelly, who was in membership with the "Orthodox Friends," disowned her society because of their unfaithfulness, and Isaac T. Hopper was censured for his anti-slavery labors by the society to which he belonged.

The equality of women in religious assemblies was always acknowledged by the Quakers, and women were always forward in the ministry there. The early preaching of women amongst Friends was an immense advantage to them, and had a decided influence in ripening women for their present movement for enfranchisement.

Another example of the beneficent influence of Quakerism is seen in its attitude towards the American Indians, both in the early settlement of Pennsylvania, and in the negotiations now carried on by Quaker commissioners in the West. The success in both these cases was due to a spirit of humanity and a strict fulfilment of their promises.

The Friends have always been advocates of Peace, the disuse of war and violence, and this is Christian ground in the proper sense of the word Christian. They have always maintained the inviolability of human life, always opposed capital punishment, always favored reform in the treatment of prisoners. Their position in regard to these great subjects springs from their high estimate of the character and possibilities of human nature.

In regard to temperance, the Society's rule is prohibition. As the Friends do not use the bread and wine communion, they are never tempted by intoxicating drink taken "for the glory of God."

The poor of the Society are taken care of by their own membership. Never has there been an instance of a Quaker going to the town poor-house.

They refuse the taking of oaths, thus following the rule laid down by Jesus more closely than those who maintain the infallible inspiration of Scripture.

They hold to the equal copartnership of husband and wife in marriage, and their marriages are formed by the public expression of mutual consent, asking no sanction of priest or magistrate.

They are strenuous against the use of "a hireling ministry." There is no prescribed order of exercises in their worship, they escape the formality of a tread-mill round of devotion. It must be admitted, on the other hand, that their system does not always produce an instructive ministry.

Other peculiarities of this sect are their use of the "thee and thou" form of speech when addressing a single person, (in the use of which they often violate the rules of grammar), and their adherence to one simple and characteristic style of dress. Probably the originator of this fashion did not intend to perpetuate one style of dress. The younger members of the Society make innovations upon the severe simplicity of the prescribed costume, and the wealthy notoriously indulge in expensive and elegant fabrics. The present need in dress is a comely, inexpensive simplicity.

Each branch of this Society has good living representatives; yet too many Friends cling to the now meaningless protests of the past, and have yielded to the palsying conservative influence of the outside world. Even in the Quaker meetings there may be as much formality as in the old church system, and in these cases the letter is allowed to quench the spirit.

Quakerism now lives too largely on the inherited moral capital of the past. Some of its influences have permeated other classes in a useful manner, though, having a relatively small hold on the multitude. The Quaker armor has rusted for want of active use.

Music and amusements have been disused by the Friends on the theory that they are trivial and worldly. The opposition to music, however, is giving way in some quarters, and many Quaker families usefully cultivate it.

It was a wholesome injunction of a venerable Quaker preacher that we should so live that the garment which fits us to-day may be too small to-morrow. The true church must be as broad as humanity. The mission of true religion is to cultivate the sense of human brotherhood. That will prove itself the best religion which shall stimulate mankind to unite with the clearest thought the most beneficent action. We must learn the laws of spiritual life. We must oppose caste, elevate womanhood, cultivate temperance and peace, and seek right generation rather than regeneration. Let us recognize the worth of the Free Religious movement, but let us prize doing more than seeing. Mr. Powell portrayed an ideal which must be attained, and concluded: Seeking the right earnestly, and striving alone, if need be, in field and orchard, turning confidingly to the "Inward Light," may we not all hope to realize

'Strength the Evil to forsake,
The Cross of Truth to bear,
And love and reverent fear to make
Our daily lives a prayer."

The paper being finished, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe said she would volunteer to fill the ditch of silence which was apt to lie between reading and discussion. We could not philosophize about religion, she thought, without feeling our obligation to Quakerism. The limitations of that system were more æsthetic than moral. The maintenance of the right of women to speak freely in public was an instance of unsurpassed courage in the early Quakers. The individuality of inspiration was better and more practically taught by them than by the mystics. The privation of amusement which they insisted on materializes life, and lessens its resources. The usefulness of sect, with these people, as with others, is only temporary. As to the revolutionary tendency which appeared in the first preaching of Quakerism, we must remember that Jesus was the most radical of revolutionists.

Mr. Weiss said he was glad to hear an account so clear and so candid as the paper had given. The radical error of the Quakers was that, believing in the inner light, they had undertaken to organize it into a system. He had been conversant with the best form of Quakerism during his residence in New Bedford, and had seen many of its members advance into radical Unitarianism.

You find among these people a placid and equable way of meeting the losses and burdens of life. They know nothing of Calvinistic despairs, floods of tears and outbursts of grief. You feel that the Spirit of God dwells among them. Yet, if, you hear the Quakers in their meeting-houses, you do not find them satisfying or instructive. If their preachers are not "hireling priests," neither are they inspired. Many of them have fallen back into preaching "the blood of Christ."

A great moral sincerity is the prominent characteristic of Quakerism. They tell you your faults to your face. Other people praise this honesty, but, they *do* it, and do it without arousing a hostile feeling in the person so labored with. This calm resoluteness is ingrained in the Quaker life.

Socrates was a born Quaker. He recognized the inward light, in the form of a restraining voice within him. Theodore Parker also had this, but in him it was more than a restraining voice, giving him an intuitive consciousness of right as well as of wrong.

Wendell Phillips was the next speaker. He said he had had no such extended intimacy with the Quakers as Mr. Weiss, yet he might have said some things in criticism of them had not Mr. Powell so fairly, covered both sides of the question. To him (Mr. Phillips) Quakerism, like the earlier sects, showed the limitations of human nature. A religious genius arises, and bears the precise testimony needed by the world at that time; but if he tries to organize or perpetuate himself, he fails. George Fox was a great religious genius. William Penn was a trimmer, who, if he had lived in New England in our time, would have been a dough-face.

The decline of Quakerism began earlier than our friend has represented in his essay. Josiah Foster in that denomination was a pope. Elizabeth Fry was a narrow-minded bigot, who would not stay in the house with Lucretia Mott, because the latter did not believe in the trinity.

George Fox was motion. When he ceased to move Quakerism it fell back. It has not continued the aggressive attitude which he took. Quakerism has taken care of its own poor, but has never combated pauperism in the community at large.

Fox shows us how little we owe to colleges. The great religious ideas of modern Europe all came up from the people. Intellect led by scholars opposes progress. If Fox were here among us, he would be as radical now as he was then, and would be again imprisoned as a disturber of society.

The first poor dress showed a spirit of self-denial and reform. Afterwards it became only the uniform of a sect.

As to the persecutions practiced by our forefathers—though Mary Dyer was a glorious apostle of truth, many of the Quakers who came after her really became a nuisance, and needed a restraining force. This should be kept in mind as palliation, though it does not excuse the manner in which the Quakers were treated.

Rev. Samuel Longfellow, being asked to speak, said he had hoped to hear some good silence, as more appropriate to the theme before them.

It was true, as had been said, that some Quakers by birthright were making progress beyond the bounds of the denomination. One of them had told him that his daughter attended a Unitarian chapel, though he himself felt bound to continue the protest against a hireling ministry. Mr. Longfellow thought they might properly reflect that the hireling *spirit* was the thing to be opposed.

The Quaker self-control and tranquility were admirable in aged people, but more spontaneity seemed desirable in the young. The doctrine of immediate inspiration was a very precious one; and precious also was the Quaker faith in the power of testimony borne against wrong, the simple saying of how it looks to your conscience, and a firm persistence in this testimony.

The opinion of Dr. Bartol was then asked for. He said that, as it had already been remarked, the doctrine of immediate inspiration existed long before Quakerism. This *is* religion. This makes religious books, made the prophets, made Jesus himself. If we think Jesus a special exception, we mistake. He, like us, heard an inward voice speaking to his soul. There can be no such thing as religion, or a God, without a speaking of that God to the soul, and the soul knowing that it is God who speaks. We must not only hear a voice, but know what voice it is. We hear His voice, and He hears ours. Instead of one son of God only, there is an innumerable multitude. Dr. Bartol had heard it said of "Father Taylor," who taught the possibility and the duty of being perfect, that on being asked whether any one else had ever been as good as Jesus, he had answered "Millions."

Mrs. Cheney then gave a brief testimony, saying that though Quakerism is a very great phenomenon in religious history, its ignoring of art and science, and consenting to neglect so many of their gifts, is a serious defect. Its method is always to cut off, without constructing anything, or adding anything; and a tendency to morbidness of conscience is manifest not only among them but among those who have come out from them.

Mr. Frank B. Sanborn said that to him Quakerism seemed an English institution, springing up at a time of great mental activity among the English people. There was a decided and absolute difference between the first Quakers and the Quakers of to-day, although both held the doctrine of immediate inspiration. The light seen by George Fox and James Naylor was identical with the cases of spiritual illumination which have been known in all ages and countries. Socrates however was not a Quaker, and had little in common with the fervor and the energy of destructiveness shown by the founders of that sect.

The English habit of mind crystallized the doctrine of the early Quakers, and tended to perpetuate just that thing without variation. Yet if we class our Quakers with the early ones, we shall confound things essentially different. If George Fox should now come among us, he would sympathize rather with the Methodists than with any other sect. The Quakers of our time shut themselves up in a corner, and seem content with a small part of the field of human nature.

Richard P. Hallowell, the next speaker. said that Quakerism seemed to him a reaffirmation of what Jesus said and taught. The original Quakers believed thoroughly in the inspiration of the Bible, the atonement, and other Calvinistic doctrines. The decline of the Society had proceeded largely from its sectarianism. The Committee supervise the preachers. The majority of Quakers of the reformatory and progressive sort not only hold to the doctrine of immediate inspiration, but sympathize with the Free Religious Association.

Miss Highgate asked whether the Quakers had not come nearer than any other sect to that "knowledge of knowledge" of which Kant speaks.

Mrs. Abby Kelley Foster said that Quakerism was now only one sect among others, It had made no valuable attainment of late.

She had been brought up in the Orthodox branch of the Quaker church, but while there was a doubter, even an atheist, living without God and without hope in the world, with no anchor for her soul. When the living work of the temperance movement and the anti-slavery movement began, inspired by the doctrine that he who loves God will love his neighbor also, *there* she saw Christianity. She gladly received that doctrine, and went to work in accordance with it. She had ever since been at work. She came to this meeting in one of the brief intervals of labor in aid of the still oppressed black man of the South. She had had no time to theorize, and had never understood the theological speculations of the orthodox church. The only salvation is that which comes through love of God as the Father and men as brethren. The Quakers have not kept to this, any more than the other sects. The Methodists are the most progressive sect in this country. They oppose the use of ardent spirits and tobacco, and are firm advocates of woman's rights.

Her life, Mrs. Foster said, had always been a life of labor, and thence it came that she was not intellectual, nor æsthetic, and that she could not answer questions belonging to those departments.

Mr. Longfellow said it was a comfort to know that in all these sects, crystalized as they might be, there was a movement party, and a progressive wing.

Mr. Sanborn said that John Brown spoke well of the Quakers, and found them helpful to him.

Mr. Powell said the great fact of Quakerism was that it was a working, practical religion. It seemed to him that the Free Religious Association needed that vigorous working spirit which the best of the Quakers had shown.

He doubted if the Methodists were now the most progressive church. The experiment of the Quaker Commission among the Indians was now working most satisfactory results, exercising a restraining force upon the savage people, and making some of the whites realize the disgracefulness of cheating them. Quakerism was not an English, but a human institution, and its lesson to people of other sects is that they should work as well as enjoy.

Rev. William H. Channing was then invited to speak. He said he had unfortunately missed the reading of Mr. Powell's paper, but he owed thanks to Quakerism for its testimony to an ever present Spirit of Truth, and its free communication with human beings. This let him into the heart and life of "the beloved Son." Fox and his friends reaffirmed that doctrine of the abiding of God in the human soul which has wrought such wonders in modern society. Angelina Grimké was a product of the Quaker church, and her faithful testimony against slavery while it was strong and prosperous was a manifest work of the indwelling spirit of God. That people saw with perfect clearness the equality of woman with man in regard to rights and duties. Another cause of gratitude to them is their constant inculcation of the doctrine of Peace.

We must never give up the doctrine of the abiding of God in the individual soul. If he were a Quaker, Mr. Channing said, he would preach it more confidently than ever.

When Mr. Channing ceased, it was found to be time for the meeting to dissolve. C. K. W.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—Married women in South Carolina will soon acquire control of their own property and possess the same rights as their sisters in other States. The Legislature has just passed a bill which provides that no real or personal property held by a woman at the time of her marriage shall be subject to levy or sale for her husband's debts, but shall be her separate property, and that she may manage and dispose of the same in all respects as though she were a man.

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We offer the following very desirable Premiums to those who will aid us in extending the circulation and consequent usefulness of THE STANDARD.

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Miscellaneous Department.

MEMORIES.

"The bird I hear sings not from yonder elm;
But the flown ecstacy my childhood heard
Is vocal in my mind, renewed by him,
Haply made sweeter by the accumulate thrill
That threads my undivided life and steals
A pathos from the years and graves between.
I know not how it is with other men,
Whom I but guess, deciphering myself;
For me, once felt is so felt nevermore.
The fleeting relish at sensation's brim
Had in it the best ferment of the wine.
One spring I knew as never any since:
All night the surges of the warm southwest
Boomed intermittent through the shuddering elms
And brought a morning from the Gulf adrift,
Omnipotent with sunshine, whose quick charm
Startled with crocuses the sullen turf
And wiled the bluebird to his whiff of song;
One summer hour abides, what time I perched,
Dappled with noonday, under simmering leaves,
And pulled the pulpy oxhearts, while aloof
An oriole clattered and the robins shrilled
Denouncing me as an alien and a thief;
One morn of autumn lords it o'er the rest,
When in the lane I watched the ash-leaves fall,
Balancing softly earthward without wind
Or twirling with directer impulse down
On those fallen yesterday, now barbed with frost,
While I grew pensive with the pensive year:
And once I learned how marvellous winter was,
When past the fence rails, downy-gray with rime,
I creaked adventurous o'er the spangled crust
That made familiar fields seem far and strange
As those stark wastes that whiten endlessly
In ghastly solitude about the pole.
And gleam relentless to the unsetting sun;
Instant the candid chambers of my brain
Were painted with these sov'ran images;
And later visions seem but copies pale
From those unfading frescoes of the past,
Which I, young savage, in my age of flint,
Gazed at, and dimly felt a power in me
Parted from nature by the joy in her
That doubtfully revealed me to myself.
Thenceforward I must stand outside the gate;
And paradise was paradise the more,
Known once and barred against satiety."

—"*The Cathedral*,"—*J. R. Lowell.*

POPULAR INJUSTICE TO WOMEN.

A writer in one of the London Magazines for January makes the following just remarks: "The tone adopted by some authors in speaking on the woman's question, as it is called, is inexpressibly insolent. A writer in a recent number of the *Quarterly* is gracious enough to say that he 'makes no apology for quoting a woman;' and in a notice on Mr. Mill's book on women, in *Blackwood*, the fact that women are physically weaker than men is expressly given as a reason why they have no claim to any justice but such as men choose to grant them though it is rather grudgingly acknowledged that they have some rights. The law of the strongest, not of justice, is openly advocated. Hundreds of years ago the sage described the principles of a certain type of men: 'Let our strength be the law of justice; for that which is feeble is found to be nothing worth.' And, judging from much that has recently appeared on this subject, the type is not extinct. Scott, in one of his noblest scenes, makes his heroine say, 'God made woman weak, and trusted her defence to man's generosity;' but the idea now seems to be, 'God made woman weak, therefore she must go to the wall.' Fortunately for mankind, this is not the prevailing idea, as has just been honorably shown by admitting women to the Edinburg University for medical study; and by Mr. Mill's generous advocacy of married women's claims, to mention no other instances.

"Why this way of speaking of a certainly not unimportant half of the human race should be adopted, is very wonderful. Is a latent jealousy of woman an inherent part of man's nature? It seems impossible sometimes otherwise to account for the remarks one hears and reads. We think, also, that both too much and too little are expected of women. Men treat her as the negro does his fetish, which he worships one moment and ill-treats the next; or as the Irish begger does the traveler, whom he importunes for alms with benedictions, but vituperates forcibly if the alms are refused. She is worshipped, and idolized, and flattered, one moment; but if she dares to assert any individuality, or claim any privilege unconnected with man's comfort, or inconsistent with some preconceived idea on his part, her worshippers turn on her, and literally seem to question her right to exist. Many men are unconsciously selfish where women are concerned, and this often from the exaggerated notion they have of their goodness. They act as if they had to deal with angels, not with human beings, and they literally make no allowance for the shortcomings that even the best and noblest woman must share in common with the rest of humanity. A gentleman once said to a lady, 'I will never speak to a woman again, if I see her out of temper;' and when remonstrated with, answered, 'Well, I know my own feelings on the subject, and I know they are shared by hundreds of men. A woman should never be out of temper. The world would be a pandemonium if women were not better than men; and I think women have powers to restrain their tempers and feelings given them which men have not. A man being out of temper is a different thing.' Can any sentiment be more absurd or unjust? Women are particularly exposed to trials of temper. The more nervous temperament—their physical weakness even, and the thousand-and-one small household worries that beset them, render them peculiarly liable to irritability and changes of mood. Miss Wetherall, in one of her novels, draws a distinction between the lines of care on men's and women's faces, caused by the petty troubles, which leave their traces on a woman's countenance; while the man, though he may suffer great anxieties, bears no marks of the small domestic trials which harass the mind as perpetual gnat stings do the body. Yet a woman is severely blamed if she exhibits any irritations under these perpetually recurring annoyances, and is probably told in a superior sort of way not to 'trouble herself about petty details;' though on these very details depend the comfort of those about her.

"Angelic strength and serenity and self-devotion are expected of women; and as even the best of them are not quite angels, (though surely some of them are nearly so), much individual misery is caused by the sense of failure an affectionate woman feels when she has only just not fulfilled impossible expectations. In this way, we say, too much is expected of women. That they have so largely and generally come up to this ideal, might induce their traducers to think less harshly of them.

"On the other hand, too little is expected of them. They are assumed to have no aim or ambition beyond that of being married, though at the same time they are blamed for this; and the most natural act on a girl's part is set down by a certain style of people (only a certain style) to a wish to attract men. The desire, common to both sexes, of appearing pleasing to the eyes of the other, is stigmatized in her as unworthy, though it is in reality an inherent part of human nature."

Weight of Air.—Teachers and others who may wish to know the weight of air without the air-pump, can do it by the following simple experiment: Boil a little water in a flask to expel the air, then cork the flask tightly, let it cool, and weigh it carefully. Then remove the cork to admit air, and weigh it again, including the cork. The difference in weight will be perceptible with a good balance of ordinary construction.

Sleep and Death.—"To love without fearing death," said Hufeland, is the only means of living happy and dying at a good old age. People who dread death seldom attain longevity. If death presents itself to us under a repulsive and terrifying aspect, it is solely owing to our habits and prejudices having perverted our feelings. Montaigne justly said that it is the darkening the room, the faces full of grief and desolation, the moaning and crying, that make death terrific. Civilization, by investing death with the most lugubrious associations that it can conjure up, has also contributed to rendering it a hideous spectre. It is the reverse with the patient. In nine cases out of ten it is not only a relief, but almost a sense of voluptuousness. Sleep daily teaches us the reality of death. "Sleep and death are twins," said the poets of antiquity. Why, then, should we fear death, when we daily invoke its brother as a friend and a consolation? "Life," said Buffon, "begins to fail long before it is utterly gone." Why, then, should we dread the last moment, when we are prepared for its advent by so many other moments of a similar character? Death is as natural as life. Both come to us in the same way, without our consciousness, without our being able to determine the advent of either. No one knows the exact moment when he goes to sleep, none will know the exact moment of his death. It is certain that death is generally a pleasurable feeling. Lucan used to say that life would be unsupportable to man if the gods had not hidden from him the happiness he would experience in dying. Tullius Marcellinus, Francis Suarez, and the philosopher La Mettrie, all spoke of the voluptuousness of their last moments. Such are the consolations which philosophy presents to timid minds that dread death. We need not say what much higher and loftier consolations await the Christian who is firm and steadfast in his faith, and has before him the prospect of eternal life.

DON'T STAY LATE TO-NIGHT.

The hearth of home is beaming
With rays of rosy light;
And lovely eyes are gleaming,
As fall the shades of night;
And while my steps are leaving
The circle pure and bright,
A tender voice, half grieving,
Says, "Don't stay late to-night."

The world in which thou movest
Is busy, brave, and wide:
The world of her thou lovest
Is on the ingle side.
She waits for thy warm greeting;
Thy smile is her delight;
Her gentle voice entreating,
Says, "Don't stay late to-night."

The world is cold, inhuman,
Will spurn thee in thy fall;
The love of one pure woman
Outlasts and shames them all.
Thy children will cling round thee
Let fate be dark or bright;
At home no shaft will wound thee,
Then, "Don't stay late to-night."

ON WASTING TIME.

"Here you are, sir, wasting your valuable time—as they say to me," said Charles Dickens one morning, many years ago, as his little boy ran up to him on the Broadstairs sands, spade in hand. And we have often wondered since how many people there are who know what is meant by wasting time.

It is very easy to make mistakes on this subject, for nothing is so deceitful as appearances. We all know that Penelope, that classical model of propriety and all the virtues, employed her time in weaving a garment by day, and unraveling it at night. She did this to keep off her lovers, who wanted to persuade her that her husband Ulysses was dead. When the suitors found her out, of course they accused her of wasting her time—but at that moment Ulysses knocked at the door, after seeing many men and cities. In fact, he had come home, and the fair Penelope had her reward after all.

Surely it is waste of time for that old tortoise to try and beat the nimble hare at racing, but the silly old thing will crawl on, without once stopping, at about the pace one gets down the Strand in a cab on a rainy day. Presently, down comes the hare at a furious pace—there is no wasting time with him, at all events—but, alas! when he arrives breathless at the winning-post, he finds the old tortoise there before him, and fast asleep too. "Ah!" says the hare, "I wish I had taken my nap at the end, instead of the beginning of the race, and then I should have won it, and that tortoise would have crawled in vain; as it is, he has made good use of his time, and I have wasted mine."

What an idle man that is yonder, fishing hour after hour! Truly a melancholy spectacle, as stern old Doctor Johnson would say. "A line with a worm at one end and a fool at the other." Wrong again! That man is an eminent statesman, who has escaped to recruit his weary brain in the company of the kingfisher and the heron. What eloquence, wisdom, and wholesome legislation do we not owe to such hours of idleness! Nay, do not some of our best and kindliest thoughts often come to us as we sit on the beach and toss pebbles into the shining sea covered with its "innumerable smiles?" Recreation is not waste when it is a rest from real work, and a preparation for more.

We confess we never feel at home with a man who must always be doing something. There was a French statesman who wrote a huge book by snatches, in those occasional intervals when he happened to be kept waiting for his dinner. We have not the slightest wish to see this ante-prandial performance. We have no doubt it was a very dull book, for men who are never at leisure are always dull.

Fussy men and idle men are equally insufferable to us. The real worker is never in a hurry, and the real idler, we may add, is never anything else. Who ever heard of Lord Palmerston, or the Duke of Wellington, or Lord Brougham, being in a hurry! When we see a man in a great hurry, we may be pretty certain that his profession consists in doing nothing, and that he is doing that badly. The idlest man we ever knew was always so much pressed for time that he never had five minutes to spare for anything. No one need ever be in such a terrible hurry as this. If we ever find ourselves so, it is probably because we have been wasting our time. We have had no system, and have, therefore, done in an hour what ought to have been finished in twenty minutes; or, like the hare, we have loitered on the way, and then we make a push for it, and arrive just in time to miss the train. How many hares there are every morning who arrive breathless in the city, because breakfast was half an hour late, or because they would not get up when the clock struck seven!

But our readers have a right to ask what constitutes, as a general rule, waste of time. We answer in a single sentence—Whatever hinders or prevents you doing your work in life. Every one should realize that his duty here consists in applying himself to some worthy work, and his time may then safely and without waste be divided into three periods—preparing for work, doing work, and resting from work. Waste of time, then, becomes a thing purely relative. What is mere waste in one case is real profit in another. The idle man who travels simply for pleasure, is simply wasting his time; the man who travels for safety, or the man who travels to get rest from work, or for the sake of his health, is not wasting or abusing his time, he is turning it to good account.

Let the heart be filled with some good principle of action, and let the mind be directed towards some congenial pursuit, and then our innocent pleasures will be as little in danger of degenerating into criminal indulgence, as our wholesome recreations into waste of time.—*Cassell's Magazine.*

THE CHEATS OF ROMANCE.

As a rule men of genius are, as Pope said, only to be admired, not to be loved. The great wit may be very dull over a bottle of port. The great poet may be very prosy during a morning walk, and the epigramist whose *bon-mots* are in all mouths may be a bit of a bore at a dinner table. Jeffrey once manœuvred to get a seat at Holland House next to Talleyrand, anticipating a delightful *tete-a-tete*, and found to his chagrin that even Talleyrand with a plate of soup before him could be as tame as a glass of ladies' champagne. And this is only one of a thousand disappointments of the sort that might be noted; for, except in moments of rare exaltation, many men even of distinguished genius are nothing more than Brown, Jones or Robinson. Emerson thinks that even if we should meet Shakespeare we should not be conscious of any deep inferiority, but of deep equality; only he possessed a strange skill of using, of classifying his facts, which we lacked; for notwithstanding our utter incapacity to produce anything like "Hamlet" or "Othello," we see the perfect reception this immense knowledge of life and liquid eloquence finds in us all. Of course there is a touch of exaggeration in that. But this is the case where there is no need to draw upon the imagination for illustrations.

Byron, for instance, always repelled the notion that he was at all influenced by poetical associations, except when he had a pen in his hand and a bottle of Holland on the table. "You must have been highly gratified," said a gentleman to him, "by the classical remains and recollections which you met with in your visit to Ithaca." "You quite mistake me," answered Lord Byron, "I have no poetical humbug about me. I am too old for that." And it was exactly the same with Scott. Moore once proposed to go to see Melrose Abbey, as Sir Walter had described it by moonlight. "Phoo, phoo," said Scott, "you don't suppose I ever saw it by moonlight." And this is not the only source of possible disappointment. The literary nature is not always made of porcelain. Now and then, indeed, it is hardly human. Byron had "no genius for friendship." Pope was irritable and malignant. Gray was a prig, Fielding was something worse. Burns was a compound of "piety and dirt." Milton had but one friend—a gloomy Quaker with a taste for Greek. His first wife ran away from him before the honeymoon was over, disgusted with "his spare diet and hard study." The poet Young was a false friend, a hard father, and not a particularly affectionate husband. Sterne was only sentimental when he had a pen in his hand. He preferred, at any time, whining over a dead donkey to relieving a living mother. Madame De Stael was a bore of the first water. Erskine and Coleridge were intolerable when they got upon "trial by jury," or metaphysics. Curran was half buffoon, half wit. Grattan was a sentimental harlequin. I might extend the list all through the page. But it is not necessary. These instances are enough for my purpose, I suppose, to illustrate the assertion that only the purest and noblest character can be painted, like Cromwell, with all their spots, and in all their flaws, without the risk of aversion, and in many cases perhaps of exciting even a stronger sentiment than that. The taste of the day, however, is for microscopical criticisms; even the editor of the *Athenæum* insisting that memoirs are not worth the paper they are written upon "if they do not contain something that partial friends would disapprove of, good taste would revolt from and the nearest and dearest would be shocked at," and the result is before us. Lord Campbell's "Lives of Brougham and Lyndhurst," and Russell's "Life of Moore," are at once an illustration and a caution. *—From the Gentlemen's Magazine.*

INFLUENCE OF FAITH IN THE ETERNAL LIFE ON THE PRESENT.

Say not: "I make no great account of life;"
I could not choose but take it, as it is,
It was a gift,—and finding fault with gifts,
Is not polite!"—O what mistake is thine!
Before *thou* could'st receive it, *thou* must be.
Thou hast, then, an old right divine herein,
Thou canst, as Spirit, ask the Spirit of Spirits:
"What does it mean? How stands it in our house?
What weighs on us? What needs to be set right?
Who is't would hold us down? Who lifts us up
And decks for us this isthmus-time of earth?"
And were this time to us the only time,
It were invaluable; then the bad
Were doubly bad, the good man heavenly good.
Because thou art an heir of endless life,—
Fly to the succor of the miserable!
Help every sufferer; not thy bread alone,
Thy garment, but thy very body give,
A joyful sacrifice, to save a child,
Much more thy race, from tyranny and woe!
For what is death itself? no more to thee
Than lightly through the flame to pass thy hand.

—Leopold Schefer—Layman's Breviary.

On Style in Literature.—The value of style as an instrument for winning the attention of the public, for saving the reader all needless labor, and for keeping a hold on the grateful memory, explains why writers who are deemed masters of language wring constant and feverish eulogy from their fellow workmen. But, as we have already said, these eulogies find a feeble echo in the public mind; and men whose writing is proclaimed to be a marvel of literary art are often only read by the cultivated class. It is easy to see why the professional man of letters should be thus eager with his praises. Since he is keenly alive to the difficulty of writing perfect English, he instinctively looks for technical triumphs of expression, and he attributes a value to style for its own sake. Unconsciously, he is prone to set most store by that writing which give himself the best lessons in rhetoric, and he finds what he seeks in the style which obtrudes itself by its very brilliancy, or by the completeness of its triumph over the difficulties that beset his own pen. In such a style the art is always more or less vividly revealed. It is so vividly revealed that we can mark the process of the worker, and study his devices, with almost as much ease, and as much profit, as an engineer can draw the details of a new and curious machine. On the other hand, such art must be second-rate. In literature, in painting, or in music, the highest art hides the hand of the workman under a thick veil. A literary artist of the second rank, like Macaulay, makes constant use of devices which are obviously mechanical and which can be learnt; a writer of the first order, even if he do not stand in the foremost place of that hierarchy, such as Heine, is constantly inventing new forms, which seem to evaporate in the act of analysis. The one might be compared to a skilled artisan who, after cutting a limited number of dies, employs them again and again, so that the student can readily copy the figures, and use them in much the same [illegible] himself; the other, seems [illegible] an artist [illegible] such an invention that he never takes two impressions from the same die, but breaks up each design the instant that he has struck it into wax, and then cuts another into form. While art of the second rank is thus [illegible] dissected, art of the first rank is the product of a creative imagination, like human life itself. The thinking of Shakespeare's characters, for example, is characterized by all that subtle, rich, confused play of motive, device, and reason which we detect in the workings of our own mind; it is many threaded, is full of labyrinthine folds; it unveils to glimpses the unexplored, unfathomable abysses of the soul. The rhetoric which can express the profundity and the comprehensiveness of a passion like Lear's, can be confined within the limits of no academic rules, and creates a rhetoric of its own.—*Spectator.*

Sweden Day and Night.—The peculiarities of day and night in Sweden strike the traveler very forcibly, after being accustomed to the temperate zone. In June the sun goes down in Stockholm a little before ten o'clock. There is a great illumination all night, as the sun passes round the earth toward the north pole, and the refraction of its rays is such that you can see to read at midnight without any artificial light. There is a mountain at the head of Bothnia where on the 21st of June the sun does not appear to go down at all. The steamboat goes up from Stockholm for the purpose of conveying those who are curious to witness the phenomenon. It occurs only one night. The sun reaches the horizon, you can see the whole face of it, and in five minutes more it begins to rise. At the North Cape, latitude seventy-two degrees, the sun does not go down for several weeks. In June it would be about twenty-five degrees above the horizon at midnight. In the winter the sun disappears and is not seen for weeks; then it comes and remains for ten or fifteen minutes, after which it descends, and finally is not set at all, but makes almost a circle round the heavens. The Swedes are very industrious, and labor is reckoned by the hour, twelve hours being reckoned a day's work. Birds and animals take their accustomed rest at the usual hour, whether the sun goes down or not.

Honorableness of Labor.—I honor the toilworn craftsman, who with earth-made implement laboriously conquers the earth, and makes her man's. Venerable to me is the hard hand—crooked, coarse,—wherein, notwithstanding, lies a cunning virtue, indefeasibly royal, as of the sceptre of this planet. Venerable, too, is the rugged face, all weather-tanned, besoiled with its rude intelligence; for it is the face of a man living manlike. Oh, but the more venerable for thy rudeness, and even because we must pity as well as love thee! hardly-entreated brother! For us was thy back so bent; for us were thy straight limbs and fingers so deformed; thou wert our conscript, on whom the lot fell, and, fighting our battles, wert so marred. For in thee, too, lay a God-created form, but it was not to be unfolded; encrusted must it stand with the thick adhesions and defacements of labor, and thy body was not to know freedom. Yet toil on, toil on; *thou* art in thy duty, be out of it who may; thou toilest for the altogether indispensable—for daily bread.—*Carlyle.*

THE NEW YEAR'S MESSENGER.

Like the first living leaf of some shed tree,
Which draws unto its heart the risen sun;
Or first-struck chord of harmonies to be,
Whose dulcet steps come stealing one by one;
Or fount that bursts through some decaying root
From whence has passed sweet blossom and sharp thorn;
Alights, love-guided, thy divinest foot,
Hope, on the mountains beautiful of morn!
Though drops the leaf, though stills the chord, though [illegible]
The rippling waters of the days flow by,
Though life's sharp thorns should show 'twixt flowers that fall,
Thou art not, Angel! of the forms which die.
Though twelve shrunk moons fall dead upon the land,
Thou, Heavenly-footed Messenger! shalt stand.

Eleanora Louisa Hervey.

—*Athenæum.*

Time Measurers.—The Northmen who overthrew the Roman Empire, used a very primitive method of measuring time.

At the break of dawn, when the chieftain of the cairn or village arose, a boy-slave came and took up his position at the entrance of his hut, and sat down with two helmets, one full of pebbles, and the other empty, before him. His business was to transfer the pebbles, one by one, and not too fast, from the first helmet to the second, after which he surrendered his turn to some one else, who repeated the operation, and so on till dusk. As the helmets were mostly very big, and the pebbles on the contrary, very small, the process of emptying must have taken a good two hours. It is probable, therefore, that the days of these Francs and Norsemen, Teutons and Vandals, were divided, like those of the Assyrians, into six parts or watches. As soon as the helmet had been emptied, the fact was proclaimed through the camp by the striking of a sword against a shield, gong fashion, at the chieftain's door. The echo was caught up around, and men knew that dinner-time had come.

In towns where some faint remnant of Roman civilization survived, the reckoning was kept by watchmen. At daybreak a soldier started on foot (or, if the town was a large one, on horseback) to walk round the city. When he had gone his round, the first watch was over; and he returned to his quarters, blowing loud on a trumpet, while a second soldier set out in silence to perform the second watch. This continued uninterruptedly day and night; the only difference being that after sunset there was no trumpet blowing, and that the watchmen, instead of proceeding, singly, went their rounds in batches of ten or a dozen.

Where the Sun does not Set.—The following graphic passage is from the description of a scene witnessed by a Mr. Campbell and his party, in the north:

'Norway, from a cliff one thousand feet above the sea. The ocean stretched away in silent vastness at our feet; the sound of its waves scarcely reach our airy lookout; away in the north the huge old sun swung low along the horizon, like the slow beat of the pendulum in the tall clock of our grandfather's parlor corner. We all stood silent, looking at our watches. When both hands came together at twelve, midnight, the full round orb hung triumphantly above the wave—a bridge of gold, running due north, spanned the water between us and him. There he shone in silent majesty, which knew no setting. We involuntarily took off our hats; no word was said. Combine, if you can, the most brilliant sunrise and sunset you ever saw, and its beauties will pale before the gorgeous coloring which now lit up the ocean, heaven and mountain. In half an hour the sun had swung up perceptibly on his beat, the colors changed to those of morning, a fresh breeze rippled over the flood, one songster after another piped up in the grove behind us—we had slid into another day.

The Shell Mounds in West Florida cover many acres of ground, in some instances. They were raised to successive heights by a people who thus, probably, sought to secure themselves against the sea and inundation. Among other remains of human tools, Dr Simpson, who has studied these mounds with care, speaks of some curious augurs. They are over a foot in length and made [illegible] ing off the whorls of large spiral shells and [illegible] ing down one side of the handle [illegible].

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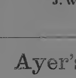

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